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THE
STORY OF THE MANUSCRIPTS.



BY
REV. GEORGE E. MERRILL.

THIRD EDITION

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18.

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BOSTON STEREOTYPE FOUNDRY,
4 PEARL STREET.

"Bring with thee the books, especially the parchments."

ST. PAUL TO TIMOTHY, 2 Eph. iv. 13.

"The title-deeds of our Christian inheritance."

ANONYMOUS.

**"Yes, I might almost say to the Lord,
Here is a copy of thy Word,
Written out with much toll and pain;
Take it, O Lord, and let it be
As something I have done for Thee."**

FRIAR PACIFICUS, in the "Golden Legend," H. W. LONGFELLOW.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

Pages 42 and 125, *for* 462 *read* 458.

Page 97, first paragraph. The author has reason to believe that an injustice is done to Tischendorf. It is true that the monks of St. Catherine think that they suffered a wrong, but documentary evidence exists, bearing the signatures of the Archbishop and heads of the convents at Sinai and Cairo, which fully justifies Tischendorf.

Page 103, the date on the title-page of Tischendorf's edition of Codex Ephraemi (N. T.) is 1843, but it appeared in December, 1842; hence the date by Tregelles.

Page 126, *for* collations *read* editions.

Page 138, *for* 1552 *read* 1522.

Page 148, Malpica described the MS. correctly, but failed to call general attention to it.

Page 150, *for* Septuagint completed *read* Septuagint begun.

Page 201, add three small MSS., signs T*, W*, N*, not tabulated by Mitchell, and two of them not noticed by Scrivener. Reckoning MSS. as distinct, which have generally been counted as one, and including six Psalters or other documents having the hymns of Luke I and II, the whole number of uncials is eighty-three, and not as on pages 47 and 48.

PREFACE.

THESE pages are an attempt to give some information, in a popular form, concerning subjects usually treated only in Introductions to the Scriptures, or in similar and often costly works. It is believed that, in these days of devotion to the study of the Bible, there are many persons who will welcome the story, briefly told, of the way in which the Christian Scriptures have been transmitted to modern times, and the certainty we have, through the labors of the great scholars, that these writings are really apostolic. It is not claimed that the consideration of these subjects in this small volume is complete, except so far as the correct statement of facts is concerned, for which the latest and best authorities have been faithfully consulted, and the proper acknowledgment made in the pages themselves. An exhaustive treatment

would have been also exhausting to the readers for whom the book is intended, and to whom it is committed in the hope that it may contribute, though by only a little, to reverence for those Scriptures, which "make wise unto salvation through faith, which is in Jesus Christ."

G. E. M.

SALEM, April, 1881.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER	PAGE
INTRODUCTION: A REVISED NEW TESTAMENT	ix
I. THE BOOK	1
II. BOOKS IN ANCIENT TIMES	23
III. MANUSCRIPTS OF THE CHRISTIAN SCRIPTURES	37
IV. THE ALEXANDRINE MANUSCRIPT	58
V. THE VATICAN MANUSCRIPT	67
VI. THE SINAITIC MANUSCRIPT	84
VII. THE PALIMPSESTS	101
VIII. OTHER UNCIALS, FRAGMENTS, AND CURSIVES	117
IX. THE LATEST DISCOVERY	143
X. VERSIONS	150
XI. HOW ARE THE MANUSCRIPTS USED?	164
XII. THE GREAT CRITICS	180
XIII. CONCLUSION	193
APPENDIX	198



INTRODUCTION.

A REVISED BIBLE.

THE readers of the English Bible during two hundred and seventy years have found it a sufficient guide to holy living, a light of such brilliancy as to show them that far-off heavenly land, to which the journey through these earthly years is but the approach. But after burning almost three centuries, shall not the lamp be trimmed? May it not cast even a brighter gleam upon the pathway of men in the future? If the present generation has gained access to any resources, or won any skill, beyond those possessed by the early translators, who brought the kindled flame to us, it is surely a duty to use them for the better enlightenment of the people in the coming time.

Many English and Anglo-Saxon translations from the Scriptures preceded that known as "the authorized," or "King James's Version." Even in the very earliest times of Christianity in Britain, portions of the Sacred Writings were rendered from the Latin then in common use, and given to the people through the homilies of priests, or the chantings of poets. These were often no more than rough paraphrases, accompanied by notes and comments; but they were of

the greatest value in giving familiarity with Biblical truth. The earliest of these was the paraphrase in verse by Cædmon of Whitby, a monk of the seventh century. In King Ælfred's Beda,* an account is given of the belief, that Cædmon was specially inspired to sing the great themes of the Creation and Fall of Man, the History of Israel, the Incarnation and Passion of Jesus, the Doom of Hell, and the Bliss of Heaven. While he slept in a stable a vision was granted him, the story goes, and he began to sing "the verse and the word, that he never had heard." Aldhelm and Cuthlac made versions of the Psalms about the beginning of the eighth century, and the Venerable Bede closed his life while dictating a translation of the Gospel of St. John. Then Ælfred, the King, in the latter part of the ninth century translated parts of Exodus, including the Ten Commandments, and he was engaged upon the Psalms when he died. Ælfric followed with his homilies, which gave to the people large portions of Scripture with his comments upon them. But all of these efforts were prior to the earliest English, and were in the tongue that was the parental stock from which the English was to come. It is true that even then, and much earlier, the term English was sometimes applied to the language, as in the title of one of these very works: "The Halgan Godspel on Englisc." But a few lines from this "Godspel," with a simple English equivalent, will show a wide difference between the two examples:—

* *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*: Benjamin Thorpe, F. S. A., page 105.

"Se Johannes witodlice hæfde reaf of olfenda hærum, and fellenne gyrdel ymbe hys lendenu; and hys mete wæs gærstapan and wudu-hunig."

This is hardly recognizable as what we read in equivalent English: "The same John truly had raiment of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins; and his meat was locusts (grass-steppers) and wild (wood) honey." Matt. iii. 4.

Another example may be given from the *Ormulum*, a rude metrical version of the close of the twelfth century, named after its author, the poet *Orm*. It is preserved in a manuscript containing the Gospels and the Acts, about twenty thousand lines in all, deposited in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

"Forrthriht se Jesus fullhtnedd wass,
He wennde himm inntill wesste.
The Goddspell seyyth thatt he wass ledd
Thurrr Gast inntill the weaste,
Annd tatt forr thatt he sholde thær
Beon fandedd thurrr the deofell." *

This is not English, though many English words appear; and it is evident that the transition is becoming rapid, and that the stream of the older language is falling steeply into the broader river near at hand. The *Ormulum* is very similar in linguistic traits to a prose version of Genesis and Exodus preserved in a manuscript at Cambridge. William of Shoreham probably should be considered the first translator into

* Lines 11,319-11,324. See *Altenglische Sprachproben*, Poesie, p. 9; E. Matzner. The Anglo-Saxon characters for the *th* and *y* sounds are here given in the English equivalents.

English, though Richard Rolle of Hampole was only a few years later, and the same approximate date, the year 1330, may be assigned to the versions of the Psalms, which these writers prepared.

Unquestionably the most important work of translation performed previous to the sixteenth century was that of John Wyclif. He was born in Yorkshire in 1324, and during a quarter of a century was connected with the University of Oxford, either as student or instructor. His literary labors were great, but the greatest of all was his version of the Bible, in a portion of which he had the assistance of Nicholas of Hereford, a scholar of some repute. Hereford's work was confined, however, to a portion of the Old Testament. The whole Bible was completed about the year 1380. Wyclif employed the Latin of the Vulgate as the basis of his translation. The Vulgate was, of course, itself a translation, and that, too, not an independent work from Greek originals, but a revision of an older Latin text. This Bible excited strong opposition among the ecclesiastics of the time, who feared a diminution of their power, if the people should receive the truth without its coming through their ministrations. A contemporary, Canon of Leicester, wrote of Wyclif:—"Christ delivered his gospel to the clergy and doctors of the church, that that they might minister to the laity and to weaker persons, according to the state of the times and the want of men. But this Master John Wyclif translated it out of Latin into English, and thus laid it more open to the laity and to women, who can read,

even to those of them, who had best understanding. And in this way the gospel pearl is cast abroad and trodden under foot of swine, and that which was before precious both to clergy and laity, is rendered, as it were, the common jest of both." But it seems as if he need not have been so troubled about this diffusion of the Scriptures in English, for though the circulation was considerable, and large prices were paid even for fragments of the book, there was hardly a possibility that the common people could be very widely affected by it, since a single copy cost about two hundred dollars. Wyclif died in 1384, and six years later an attempt was made to suppress his translation by a bill in the House of Lords, which, however, was not successful.

Almost a whole century passed away. The opposition to translations on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities grew greater with each year. In 1408 it was resolved by the Convocation of Oxford: "It is a dangerous thing to translate the text of Holy Scripture out of one tongue into another. . . . We therefore decree and ordain, that no man henceforth by his own authority translate any text of the Scriptures into English or any other tongue by way of a book, pamphlet, or treatise, and that no man read any such book, pamphlet, or treatise now lately composed in the time of Wyclif . . . upon pain of the greater excommunication, until the said translation be approved by the ordinary of the place, or, if the case so require, by the council provincial."* A strange enactment, when

* Historic Origin of the Bible : Bissell. Foxe's Acts and Monuments.

placed by the side of the labors of the nineteenth century, in which Oxford has borne such large share, and by which the Revised Version is issued under the Oxford imprint. But while the opposition thus increased, the desire upon the part of the people also grew. Upon the Continent Biblical studies rapidly advanced, and all over Europe the thought of the people was coming to that condition which made the Protestant Reformation possible. He would be a bold man, however, who should dare to face priestly opposition and attempt to carry on the work of giving the Bible to the people in their native tongue. But the bold man was found.

About the year 1484, "the faithful minister and constant martyr of Christ,"* William Tyndale, was born in Gloucestershire. His education, acquired both at Oxford and Cambridge, fitted him in a peculiar manner for the great work of his life. In 1523 he went to London in the hope of receiving assistance by which he could carry out his great plan of translating the New Testament. Meeting with no encouragement, but opposed at every step, he left England in 1524 for Hamburg. He was destined never to return. Upon the Continent he applied himself with enthusiasm to his work. Even there he met with great difficulties. Intelligence of his undertaking was conveyed to England, and emissaries were sent forth to dog his footsteps and hinder his attempt. Fleeing from city to city, and often risking his life through his devotion to his task, living under an assumed name, he pursued

* Foxe's Acts and Monuments.

his labors during two years, and at the end of this time had the whole of the New Testament ready for publication in English. He had already issued the Gospels of Matthew and Mark in 1525; but now in 1526 the whole work was published,—the first *printed* English Bible. It was found necessary to prepare two editions at once, because the first edition, in quarto form, had been greatly prejudiced in England before its appearance by letters sent from the Continent by the enemies of translation, describing the form in which it was to appear, and warning the authorities to look out for it. An octavo edition was therefore prepared hastily and sent off before the quarto, though both arrived nearly at the same time. The quarto edition, however, occupied the attention of the opponents, and the octavo volumes passed easily into the hands of the people. Before four years had passed six editions of Tyndale's translation had been issued, all on the Continent, and some of them unauthorized by the translator; but even through these faulty editions the people received the knowledge of the truth in their own tongue, and the popular acquaintance with the Scriptures became daily more obnoxious to the party in power. The volumes were seized and burned wherever they could be discovered, and many possessing them were imprisoned and punished; but such measures only inflamed the public desire to see the proscribed book, and the importations largely increased. At last it was found that government opposition was useless, and a combination of influences occasioned an entire change of policy, so that the work of supplying

the people with an English Bible was patronized by the government itself. This result was not gained, however, until martyrdom had sealed the efforts of the heroic Tyndale. One of his assistants, John Frith, who had been enticed to England, was burned at the stake in 1533, and Tyndale himself was finally entrapped by emissaries of the English government upon the Continent, and, by the coöperation of the authorities of Brussels, was condemned for heresy, and strangled and burnt at the stake near that city in 1536.

Tyndale was at rest, but his work went on. Under the great change in its policy the English government found it still inconvenient, because so thoroughly inconsistent with its previous denunciations, to favor Tyndale's translation. A new version was therefore sought. Miles Coverdale, a scholar of eminent abilities, and known to have already prepared himself for such special work, was encouraged to make a translation, which should not only receive no opposition from the government, but be at least tacitly favored. In a single year's labor the whole Bible was produced by Coverdale, and published in 1535; it was made chiefly from the Vulgate and from Luther's German. Other editions followed in 1537, 1539, 1550, and 1553. The version is chiefly remarkable as the means by which the transition was effected from strenuous opposition to acknowledged patronage upon the part of the government. In the year 1537 the Matthew's Bible appeared (revised by Richard Taverner in 1539), and the authorities were glad to assent to this publication also as a way out of their difficulties. But this Bible

was, for the largest part, only a reprint of Tyndale's work thus gathered together and issued as a complete Bible for the first time. It was even enthusiastically welcomed by the royal party, and though Tyndale's initials stood at the close of the Old Testament, they were either unnoticed, or purposely ignored, and the publication was given a special royal license. Large numbers of this Bible were sold, but of course it found its enemies, who revealed its real origin, and it was found necessary to meet their attacks by a preparation of another edition. The Great Bible was prepared. Coverdale, and several other scholars, were employed in the work, which was not a fresh translation from original documents, but merely a revision of the Matthew's Bible, with reference to a recent Latin translation of the Old Testament Hebrew, and to the Vulgate, the Latin of Erasmus, and the Complutensian Bible, described hereafter in the text of this book.* This Great Bible became known also as Cranmer's Bible, because he wrote a preface to certain editions. The work was very large and costly, and could not meet with such popular favor as had been granted to former publications.

The reign of Edward VI. favored the free circulation of the Scriptures and many editions were issued, but the accession of Bloody Mary to the throne, with the exaltation of Romanism to political power in England, brought opposition to the Scriptures in the common tongue once more to the front. Multitudes of Protestant Christians were exiled or slain; but perse-

* See page 53.

cution, as always, only increased the zeal of the sufferers. Geneva was the resort of many who fled to the Continent, and here a new translation of the New Testament was made and published in 1557, followed by the Old Testament in 1560. This Genevan Bible, prepared under the influence of the Protestant community in the Swiss city, was furnished with Calvinistic notes and gained a wide circulation, receiving special favor from the dissenting party, and becoming by far the most popular Bible in England. There was even danger that it would supersede the Great Bible, which was the only authorized edition, in the pulpits of the churches. To meet this danger, and to make the Great Bible more popular, a new revision of it was made called the Bishops' Bible; but it did not supplant the Genevan version in the favor of the people, though it was recognized as the standard of the English Church.

In addition to these Bibles there now appeared a work known by two names, and issued in self-defence by the party that had most bitterly and persistently opposed the Scriptures in the common tongue. The Romanists themselves, finding that the great movement for translations had swept beyond their power, prepared a special translation to be used by the faithful. The New Testament was completed at Rheims in 1582, and the Old Testament, after long delay, at Douay in 1609, and the work was accomplished by the Romanists who had fled from England upon the accession of Elizabeth; its basis was the Vulgate, and it is known as the Rhemish and Douay Bible.

These brief outlines of the English versions, previ-

ous to the appearance of that of King James, have been sketched by no means as an adequate portrayal of the subject, but only to show what was the true character of the version which has been so long in the hands of all people who speak the English language. It was out of the strife between the Genevan Bible and the Bishops' Bible, with perhaps certain political considerations of James I., that the translation generally called by his name arose. A strong desire to unite, if possible, the discordant parties led to an attempt to make "one uniform translation, and this to be done by the best learned in both universities (Cambridge and Oxford); after them to be revised by the bishops and the chief learned of the church; from them to be presented to the Privy Council; and, lastly, to be ratified by the royal authority; and so the whole church be bound to it and no other." The hope was to unite parties by a Bible that should be popular with each, and the work was to be based upon the already existing translations, diligently compared with each other and revised with reference to such other authorities as could be obtained. The Puritan party was represented by its ablest scholars, and the Church party by its worthiest members. The Bishops' Bible was to be followed, with as few alterations as fidelity to the originals would permit, though Tyn-dale's, Matthew's, Coverdale's, the Great Bible, and the Genevan, were also especially mentioned as of permissible influence in the work. It will thus be seen that the authorized version of King James was in a large measure dependent upon the English

Bibles that have been thus far sketched in these pages.

King James's Version was issued in 1611. It need not be described; it is so familiar to everyone. But the mere mention of the date at which it appeared should be enough to suggest several reasons why a revision of it is desirable at the present time. The vast advance in Biblical scholarship during the last two centuries; the discovery of ancient documents, as related in the following pages; and the drift and change of the English language itself in the long interval indicate the principal reasons why a Revised English Bible is now necessary.

To consider these reasons a little more fully, the change in the English language itself may well hold the attention. Christian affection has indeed become strongly fixed upon the very words of the authorized version so long in possession of the Church, and any verbal changes may at first appear very unwelcome to many, whose thoughts have dwelt fondly upon the quaint and formal methods of expression employed in the familiar pages. But if such a prejudice were suffered to enter into the question of revision, it would militate against any improvement at all; the beloved "Authorized Version" would itself never have been made, had such an objection been allowed. Is the Bible of to-day any dearer, or more sacred to the modern Christian, than were Wyclif's and Tyndale's to those who risked imprisonment and death for the sake of possessing them? But no one would assert, that the greatest love for those versions or any of

their successors would have been a sufficient reason for continuing their texts until now. The English language has not changed so greatly since the time of the "authorized version," as it did in the interval between that and the period of Tyndale's work; and yet this reason for revision is very cogent. A few examples may be given. The word "carriages," for instance, in Acts xxi. 15, renders the verse almost unintelligible to-day, though when it was written: "So we took up our carriages and went up to Jerusalem," probably every English reader would have known what was meant. Again the word "bowels" was good English in 1611, for the same thought expressed now by the word *heart*, and in Phil. ii. 1, "If any bowels and mercies," and in at least eight other places in the New Testament, it signified that affection which would now be regarded as proceeding from a merciful heart. The word "let" in 1611 was equivalent to *hinder* or *retard*; but in 1881 it means just the opposite, to *permit*. "Conversation" has gained a restricted meaning compared with that which it has in the authorized version. "Trow" is no longer used for *believe*, nor "wist" and "wot" for *know*, nor "holpen" for *helped*, nor "sodden" for *boiled*, nor "leasing" for *lying*, nor "bewray" for *betray*. "Astonied" and "magnifical" and many similar forms have passed entirely out of use, and the employment of the word "damnation" in 1 Cor. xi. 29, may represent a similar misapplication of words in a multitude of cases, when judged according to the modern meaning of the term. It may be said, indeed, that the English language is a very dif-

ferent tongue from what it was two hundred and seventy years ago ; so that there would be good reason for a revision of the Bible *on that account alone*, even if the version of 1611 were absolutely perfect in every other respect.

But as already intimated, there are many other faults in the "authorized version," which the passage of time and the great advancement of critical scholarship have revealed. There are wrong translations ; there is the use of different English words to represent the same Greek word, and the employment of the same English word in different senses, misleading the reader. In Rom. iv., for example, the same Greek word, which is the key to the argument of the chapter, is translated "count" twice, "impute" six times, and "reckon" three times. In Rom. vii. 7, one Greek word is translated with the two meanings of "lust" and "covet." In Rom. viii. 19-23, one word is translated "creature" three times, and "creation" only once. In the use of proper names there is a great diversity of spelling so that the uninitiated would hardly recognize Isaiah in Esaias, or Ezekiel in Ezekias, or Hezekiah in the same name. Korah as Core, Elijah as Elias, Elisha as Eliseus, and very many others under a similar change of name, almost assume two personalities. These are but a very few of an immense number of defects, which may easily be remedied. But passing by all of these, the great reason for revision exists in the nature of the Greek text from which the version of King James was made, as compared with the present knowledge of the original Greek, which the Apostles wrote. It is the

attempt of the following pages to expound as fully as may be desirable in a popular work this greatest reason for the revision of the Christian Scriptures. The *Story of the Manuscripts* is after all the most important of all the indications, that the old English Bible should be conformed to the better evidence, now in our hands, of what the Prophets and Apostles wrote. In 1611 the scholars of England suffered from a poverty of materials in comparison with the resources now at command. It has already been shown, that the real basis of the "authorized version" then made was the version of Tyndale. The other versions were also employed, but they, it will be remembered, were also the lineal descendants of Tyndale's Bible, as well as its successors in time. But if we regard the original Greek and Hebrew texts from which these Bibles were made, we see that all of those texts put together would not equal in value one or two manuscripts, that have been discovered, or thoroughly investigated, since that time. Tyndale insisted upon the necessity of translating directly from the original languages, and he had the opportunity of using several editions of the Hebrew of the Old Testament, which had been published before his labors were begun, and which were accorded various degrees of value, one or two of them being in high esteem. But for the Greek of the New Testament, it is probable that the best that could be done was to use the text of Erasmus, which he had hastily prepared from manuscripts at Basle, few in number and, with one exception, of comparatively little critical value. The Complutensian text was already prepared,

but it is not definitely known from what manuscripts, and it is doubtful if Tyndale made any use of it. As for the other versions, we have seen how in many instances, the Vulgate and other Latin texts were influential in their preparation. The Genevan Bible was probably as independent as any, of other versions. Previous to its issue the Greek text of Stephens had been prepared (1550), and could not have failed to guide the translation. And when at last the "authorized version" of King James was made in 1611, the Greek text of Beza had been added to the resources at hand. But the pages of this book describe the advance that has been made since that day. The great Vatican manuscript has been published and studied; the Sinaitic manuscript has been discovered; a multitude of other documents, some of them of nearly equal importance with these, have been thoroughly investigated; the whole science of textual criticism has been revolutionized, and established upon principles universally recognized as correct and safe; in a word, Christendom to-day has a far greater knowledge of what the writers of its Scriptures actually wrote, than it had two centuries and a half ago. It has a far purer Greek text of the New Testament, and a deeper knowledge of that of the Old Testament, than when the scholars of King James's time produced the English version, so long dear to the church. And the question is therefore of the greatest force: Shall not the English Bible, as well as the Bible in the original tongues, be published with the most exact adherence to the very text that flowed from the pens of the first

writers, and thus the purity of the word be preserved for all generations of those who speak the English tongue?

For more than a decade previous to the year 1870 the question of a revision of the English Bible had been agitated upon both sides of the Atlantic. New translations by single scholars and by Bible societies had appeared from time to time, but from the circumstances attending their publication they could never come into general acceptance and use in the churches. More than once in England the royal favor had been sought for the scheme of revising King James's version, but the plan had been defeated from various causes. In the year 1870, on February 10, both Houses of the Convocation of Canterbury united in a resolution appointing a committee to consider the desirableness of revising the authorized version, "whether by marginal notes or otherwise." This committee reported upon May 11, that such a revision was desirable; that it should be so conducted as to provide for marginal renderings, and also for such emendations in the English text itself as might be deemed necessary; that the work should not be of the nature of an entirely new translation, but that only such alterations of the language of King James's version should be made as might be absolutely necessary, and that even these changes should preserve the general style of the old version. The committee also advised that the work should be done by members of the Convocation especially appointed for the purpose, who should have permission to invite the aid of "any eminent for

scholarship, to whatever nation or religious body they may belong." This report was followed by the choice of a committee to arrange a definite plan for the work and carry it forward to its completion.

The committee thus formed at once took measures to complete its organization by the invitation to other eminent scholars to join them in the work, and by the choice of officers and the division into two companies, the one for the Old Testament, the other for the New Testament. The following rules were adopted to guide them in their labors :—

1. To introduce as few alterations as possible into the text of the Authorized Version consistently with faithfulness.

2. To limit, as far as possible, the expression of such alterations to the language of the Authorized and earlier English version.

3. Each company to go twice over the portion to be revised, once provisionally, the second time finally, and on principles of voting as hereinafter provided.

4. That the text to be adopted be that for which the evidence is decidedly preponderating; and that when the text so adopted differs from that from which the Authorized Version was made, the alteration be indicated in the margin.

5. To make or retain no change in the text on the second final revision by each company, except *two-thirds* of those present approve of the same, but on the first revision to decide by simple majorities.

6. In every case of proposed alteration that may have given rise to discussion, to defer the voting thereupon

till the next meeting, whensoever the same shall be required by one-third of those present at the meeting, such intended vote to be announced in the notice of the next meeting.

7. To revise the headings of chapters, pages, paragraphs, italics, and punctuation.

8. To refer, on the part of each company, when considered desirable, to divines, scholars and literary men, whether at home or abroad, for their opinions.

It was further determined that the work of each company be communicated to the other as it is completed, in order that there may be as little deviation from uniformity in language as possible.

The special or bye-rules for each company were as follows :—

1. To make all corrections in writing previous to the meeting.

2. To place all the corrections due to textual considerations on the left-hand margin, and all other corrections on the right-hand margin.

3. To transmit to the chairman, in case of being unable to attend, the corrections proposed in the portion agreed upon for consideration.

The New Testament division of the committee met June 22, 1870, at Westminster. It was thought eminently proper that the inception of a work so great should be accompanied by the solemn rite of the Communion, and accordingly the whole body, with a single exception, partook of the Lord's Supper in the Chapel of Henry VII. in Westminster Abbey. Instantly a bitter prejudice was excited by the act. Canon Jebb

resigned his position on the committee. The English papers blazed forth in condemnation of such a breach of ecclesiastical usage, while not a few of the public prints supported the committee. More than fifteen hundred clergymen of the Church of England signed a protest to be presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury, denying that the Communion should be administered thus to "teachers of various sects." But the storm of objections soon died away, and the work quietly progressed.

It was soon found advantageous to confer with American scholars, and using the liberty granted in the outset by the Convocation, the committee opened negotiations for the formation of a joint-committee upon this side of the Atlantic to assist in the whole work. Dean Stanley sent a communication to Dr. Philip Schaff of New York requesting co-operation, and Dean Howson was present at the first meeting for the organization of an American committee in December, 1871. The completion of the American division occupied nearly a year, but on October 4, 1872, the final organization was effected and the work began. When the American committee was thus completed, copies of what the English division had already done were put into their hands,—Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus, and the first three Gospels. It was understood that the utmost secrecy as to the results of their work should be preserved until the whole should be finished. The divisions of the committee have been in constant correspondence, and during the ten years since the inception of the undertaking, the labors of these

scholars, wholly unrewarded except by their own joys in the study and the consciousness that they were conferring a great benefit upon their fellow-men, have progressed with harmony and success. The New Testament was completed at the close of the year 1879, and is published simultaneously in England, Scotland, America, and Australia, upon the seventeenth of May, 1881. The Old Testament will probably be published in 1883.

The scholars engaged in this great work of revision are named in the following list. An asterisk (*) marks the names of those who have died previous to the publication of the New Testament; an obelisk (†) indicates those who have resigned, and in the case of the few, who resigned immediately after their appointment, so that they did not really enter into the labors of the committee, the names are also enclosed in brackets.

ENGLISH COMPANY UPON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

*Dr. C. Thirlwall, Bishop of St. David's.

Dr. A. Ollivant, Bishop of Llandaff.

Dr. E. H. Browne, Bishop of Ely, later of Winchester.

†Dr. C. Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln.

Dr. A. C. Hervey, Bishop of Bath and Wells.

Dr. R. P. Smith, Dean of Canterbury.

Dr. J. J. S. Perowne, Dean of Peterborough.

Rev. B. Harrison, Archdeacon of Maidstone; Canon of Canterbury.

*Rev. H. J. Rose, Archdeacon of Bedford.

*Dr. W. Selwyn, Canon of Ely.

†[Dr. J. Jebb, Canon of Hereford.]

Dr. W. L. Alexander, Professor of Theology, Edinburgh.

Dr. A. B. Davidson, Professor of Hebrew, Edinburgh.

- Dr. G. Douglas, Professor of Hebrew, Glasgow.
Dr. J. D. Geden, Professor of Hebrew, Manchester.
Dr. F. W. Gotch, Principal of Baptist College, Bristol.
Dr. S. Leathes, Professor of Hebrew, London.
†Dr. E. H. Plumptre, Professor of N. T. Exegesis, London.
Rev. T. K. Cheyne, Fellow and Lecturer (Hebrew), Oxford.
Dr. F. Chance, London.
Mr. T. Chenery, Professor of Arabic, Oxford.
Mr. R. L. Bensly, Fellow and Lecturer (Hebrew), Cambridge.
Mr. S. R. Driver, Tutor, Oxford.
Rev. C. J. Elliott, late Fellow, Cambridge.
Dr. F. Field, Norwich.
Dr. C. D. Ginsburg, Editor of Canticles, etc., Berks.
Dr. W. Kay, late Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta.
Dr. J. R. Lumby, Fellow, Cambridge.
Rev. A. H. Sayce, Fellow and Tutor, Oxford.
Dr. W. Wright, Professor of Arabic, Cambridge.
Rev. W. R. Smith, Professor of Hebrew, Aberdeen.
*Dr. P. Fairbairn, Principal Free Church College, Glasgow.
*Dr. B. Davies, Professor of Hebrew, Regent's Park, London.
*Rev. J. McGill, Professor of Oriental Languages, St. Andrew's.
*Rev. D. H. Weir, Professor of Oriental Languages, Glasgow.
Mr. W. A. Wright, Bursar of Trinity College, Cambridge.
Rev. J. Birrell, Professor of Oriental Languages, St. Andrew's.

AMERICAN COMPANY UPON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

- Dr. W. H. Green, Professor of Hebrew, Princeton.
Dr. G. E. Day, Professor of Hebrew, New Haven.
Dr. T. J. Conant, American Bible Union, Brooklyn.
Dr. T. W. Chambers, Collegiate Reformed Church, New York.

- Dr. C. A. Aiken, Professor of Apologetics, Princeton.
 Dr. J. DeWitt, Professor of Biblical Criticism, New Brunswick.
 Dr. C. P. Krauth, Vice Provost, Univ. Penn., Philadelphia.
 Dr. C. M. Mead, Professor of Hebrew, Andover.
 Dr. G. E. Hare, Professor of Biblical Learning, Philadelphia.
 Dr. J. Packard, Professor of Biblical Literature, Alexandria.
 *Dr. Tayler Lewis, Professor of Greek and Hebrew, Schenectady.
 Dr. H. Osgood, Professor of Hebrew, Rochester.
 Dr. C. E. Stowe, Hartford.
 Dr. J. Strong, Professor of Theology, Madison.
 Dr. C. V. A. Van Dyck, Missionary, Beirût, Syria.

ENGLISH COMPANY UPON THE NEW TESTAMENT.

- *Dr. S. Wilberforce, Bishop of Winchester.
 Dr. C. J. Ellicott, Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol.
 Dr. R. C. Trench, Archbishop of Dublin.
 Dr. G. Moberly, Bishop of Salisbury.
 Dr. C. Wordsworth, Bishop of St. Andrew's.
 Dr. A. P. Stanley, Dean of Westminster.
 Dr. R. Scott, Dean of Rochester.
 Dr. J. W. Blakesley, Dean of Lincoln.
 *Dr. H. Alford, Dean of Canterbury.
 †Dr. C. Merivale, Dean of Ely.
 Dr. E. H. Bickersteth, Dean of Lichfield.
 Dr. W. Lee, Archdeacon of Dublin.
 Dr. Edwin Palmer, Archdeacon of Oxford.
 Dr. B. F. Westcott, Canon of Peterborough.
 Dr. B. H. Kennedy, Canon of Ely and Professor of Greek.
 Dr. J. B. Lightfoot, Bishop of Durham, London.
 Dr. F. H. A. Scrivener, Prebendary, Hendon Vicarage, London.
 Dr. F. J. A. Hort, Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.
 Dr. G. V. Smith, Caermarthen.

- Dr. C. J. Vaughan, Master of the Temple, London.
Dr. A. Roberts, Professor of Humanity, St. Andrew's.
Dr. W. F. Moulton, Master of Ley's School, Cambridge.
Dr. D. Brown, Principal Free Church College, Aberdeen.
Dr. J. Angus, President Baptist College, London.
Dr. S. Newth, Principal of New College, London.
*Dr. J. Eadie, Professor of Biblical Literature, Glasgow.
*Dr. S. P. Tregelles, Critic and Editor, Plymouth.
Rev. J. Troutbeck, Westminster.
Rev. W. G. Humphry, Prebendary of St. Paul's, London.
Dr. W. Milligan, Professor of Divinity, Aberdeen.

AMERICAN COMPANY UPON THE NEW TESTAMENT.

- Dr. T. D. Woolsey, Ex-president of Yale College, New Haven.
Dr. J. H. Thayer, Professor of Sacred Literature, Andover.
Dr. E. Abbot, Professor of New Testament Criticism, Cambridge.
Dr. T. Chase, President of Haverford College, Philadelphia.
Dr. H. Crosby, Chancellor of New York University, New York.
Dr. A. C. Kendrick, Professor of Greek, Rochester.
*Dr. H. B. Hackett, Professor of N. T. Exegesis, Rochester.
Dr. M. B. Riddle, Professor of N. T. Exegesis, Hartford.
Dr. A. Lee, Bishop of Delaware.
Dr. T. Dwight, Professor of Sacred Literature, New Haven.
Dr. P. Schaff, Professor of Sacred Literature, New York.
*Dr. C. Hodge, Professor of Theology, Princeton.
†Dr. W. F. Warren, President of Boston University, Boston.
Dr. C. Short, New York.
*Dr. E. A. Washburn, New York.
Dr. J. K. Burr, Professor Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J.
*Dr. H. B. Smith, Professor of Theology, New York.
*Dr. J. Hadley, Professor of Greek, New Haven.
†Dr. G. R. Crooks, New York.

The larger number of the English scholars engaged in the work are of the Church of England, but the others are from various sects, almost every denomination having its representatives upon the committee. Of the American scholars who have been connected with the enterprise, five are Episcopalians, seven Congregationalists, six Presbyterians, four Baptists, four Methodists, four Reformed, one Unitarian, one Lutheran, one Friend, — the whole number, with the exception of Dr. Van Dyck in Syria.

It will thus be seen that the work of Revision has had the broadest basis, and that the best resources of the whole Church have been bestowed upon the work.

Dr. Philip Schaff has been the President of the American committee, Dr. William H. Green the Chairman of the Old Testament division, and Ex-President Theodore D. Woolsey Chairman of the New Testament division.

It is not a new Bible which is thus offered to the people. It is the old Bible — even the old English Bible, with all its excellencies preserved, with only its defects removed. Wherever the old version has been loved, the revised version will also find a welcome, — and that will be wherever the English language is spoken.

THE STORY OF THE MANUSCRIPTS.

CHAPTER I.

THE BOOK.

"There is but one Book." The words have become famous, as they were spoken by one, who was himself the renowned author of many books. He was dying. He had asked his attendants to bring him the book. Which of his own works did he mean? Which of the thousands that crowded the shelves in his library? "There is but one Book," he said; and they brought him the Bible.

It is evident that, whether the Bible be regarded simply with respect to its own character or with reference to what it has accomplished in the world, it stands alone. The Vedas of the Brahmins, the Zend Avesta of the Persians, the writings of Laotse and Confucius, the Koran of Mohammed, yes, even the more wonderful remains of the religious literature of Egypt,—works which have been very fully opened to the knowledge of the modern world through the labors

of learned philologists and studious missionaries, — must all stand far apart, when compared with the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures. They have, indeed, many admirable precepts; the commandments written in many of them are in some respects as perfectly righteous as the code of Moses itself; there are echoes of eternal and universal truth ringing through their teachings; here and there are sayings that are nearly identical with words of the New Testament; but after all no candid reader can turn the pages even of these best heathen books without a sigh, for he will wonder at the vapid thought, the profitless speculations, the silly dreams, the patent falsities, that fill so large a space in them, and it will be hard to believe that millions of human beings have really sought in these volumes the truth which should satisfy the cravings of the human soul. The reader of the Koran wanders through a desert, in the midst of whose dreary sands the few oases are as conspicuous as those that dot the path of the caravan in the arid wastes of the land of Mohammed. The noblest of the Vedic hymns rise high indeed, but from the summits of thought which they attain, the eye turns away with longing still, until far in the distance, and seeming to pierce the very blue of heaven itself, the hymns of David, the songs of Hebrew seers, the lofty poems of the Book of Job, and the sweet, strong sayings of the Sermon on the Mount, lift their glorious heights above all else. We turn from the best that the religious yearnings of men have given us, and as page after page of the Old Testament and the New Testament are turned, we find

that in the internal character of these books, which forces us to exclaim: These men wrote as they were moved of God. Mohammed may have received his book as a revelation from heaven, but its character does not show it. Confucius, Buddha, may have held converse with powers above them, but the pages they gave to the world are not heavenly. But Moses and David, Isaiah and Malachi, John and Paul,—these men not only claimed, but their writings prove, that they held communion with the Deity. There is but one Book,—the Book that is made up of these books has a message for the world that it cannot afford to neglect. And experience has shown through almost nineteen centuries that just so far as the Book has not been neglected, it has vindicated its right to the first place in the literature of the world by the results which have invariably followed its adoption. It has enlightened every nation to which it has come, and has led the way to such high civilization as we have to-day,—a civilization in which it is still at work rebuking, encouraging, teaching, inspiring, perfecting, until the ideal shall have been reached in the full recognition of the universal brotherhood of man, with all our life fashioned after the love that is in the law of the Lord.

And yet the Book must not be worshipped. It is to be regretted, that upon the part of some a species of idolatry has arisen, in which the Bible, possibly the English Bible of King James, has been regarded as a thing, to which no error could attach, and which is faultless in all its forms. But, as we have shown in

the introduction, the need of revision of the King James version is apparent. The Bible makes no claim to worship, and such bibliolatry is quite foreign to the spirit of the Scriptures. It is claimed that those who wrote the books of the Bible were inspired of God to do that work, and that in the revelation of truth to them, and the recording of that truth, they were preserved from error. But this can be claimed only for the original writings; it cannot be asserted either of copies, or of versions, though it is marvellous how God has watched over the transmission of His Word by these means. And, moreover, it must be remembered, inspiration did not make slaves of the writers, or reduce them to the condition of mere machines. There is the impress of the personality of each one upon his work. The style of St. Peter is not that of St. Matthew; the fire and strength of St. Paul are different from the fervency that glows in the scriptures of St. John. The Bible is the Book of God, not in the sense that it is entirely superhuman. God gave it through men for men, and even in its original documents there must have been everywhere the evidence at once of the divine and the human conjoined. It is apparent even in the internal character of the books; in the nature of the truth taught, and in the progressiveness of the revelation. The book was to be for all men, for all time. The earlier generations of men must have their records of the divine will, and therefore Moses wrote, and yet he wrote in such a way that the latest generations should find help from the words that flowed from his pen. But manifestly he was obliged to write in such a

manner as was fitted to his own age, and neither in the language nor in the style which the nineteenth century might demand. The prophets chanted their messages to the people of their day, though many occult sayings could find their truest fulfilment only at a later time. Poets sung such songs as arose out of their own experience, but because the human heart always beats with the same passions, and the human life always has the same joys and woes, their songs are the expression of our religious feeling even now. And at last the Christ came. His life was to be recorded. Evidently it could not have been written until it had been lived, and the most natural time for it to be written was not long after it was lived. So the Gospels came into existence, the Word of God, and yet arising, in one sense, naturally out of the demands of the time under the Providence which shapes all things. Then the doctrines of the Christ were to be unfolded, and His Church to be established in the world; the Apostles did their part; epistles went forth from them to the Christians; the Acts of the Apostles in founding the churches were recorded as a history of the beginnings of Christianity; the strange book of the Revelation was written. And then a multitude of other writings followed, not inspired, inferior in character and diverse in purpose, such as men write for men in the communication merely of their own thoughts and feelings.

How, then, did the Bible come to be what it is? Why were just these books included in the same collection? Why not more? Or, possibly, why not less?

In answer to these questions, pertinent indeed, there can be nothing more said here concerning the Old Testament, than that the collection of Hebrew writings had long been complete at the time of the Saviour, and was accepted by Him as of sacred authority. While He guarded against the false views of Pharisees and Scribes, and repudiated the cumbrous enactments of their oral law, He was always careful to acknowledge the power of their Scriptures, as a whole, and there is hardly a part of the Old Testament to which He did not directly appeal in teaching the people concerning Himself and the kingdom of righteousness in the world. But we have to do in these pages especially with the New Testament, and it is of the greatest importance that correct views of the Christian Scriptures should be held. The New Testament, like the Old, was a thing of growth. It was not manufactured in a day, nor by one hand, as already said. And yet the inspiration of God was the origin of it in all its parts, just as truly as if the completed volume had been flung down from flaming clouds, or given to the Apostles as the law was to Moses amid the peaks of Sinai. And this is the answer to the questions, Why not more books? or why so many as these? These and no others constitute the volume, because these and no others bear the marks of the divine origin. To be sure, they seemed to come in a very natural way. Men wrote them. They wrote them with the ordinary writing-materials of the day. They wrote them without concerted action, far apart in place and time, and for different ends. But so does God work

through men in all His dealings with them, and that these books were written as other books are written does not indicate that they were not inspired of the Deity. A man holds the plough, and runs the furrow, and plants the seed, and proceeds with all the course of cultivation; but there must be that which is beyond the man, the quickening power of the mother-earth, and of the sunshine and rain and dew, before the blade will appear and mature. And in writing books, one man will go to work in as commonplace a manner as another; but the one is a dull fool and the other is a poet, and the two books, when completed, will inevitably declare their origin. With regard to the writings of the New Testament there can be no mistake. Put the Gospels by the side of the Apocryphal Gospels of the Birth of Mary, or the Infancy; compare the Epistles of St. Paul with those of Clement, or those of St. Peter with that of Barnabas, and the superiority of the canonical writings will readily appear. As a matter of fact the Epistle of Barnabas is singularly like some portions of the New Testament writings, and this, as well as other letters now unrecognized as a part of Holy Scripture, were once, and in some localities, included in the list of inspired books. When their authority was doubted, they were still held for a time under consideration, so careful were the early Christians to be right with respect to so great a matter. Shall we not say, so careful was the Spirit of God to preserve the Church from rejecting the true, or receiving uninspired writings? But the real nature of the books themselves at last determined the question,

so far as it lay within the decision of man, and only such writings as were undoubtedly apostolic, or prepared under the immediate supervision of the Apostles, were received by the churches as authoritative.

All the writings of the New Testament were completed and in the possession of the churches, at the close of the ~~first century~~. The testimony of all the early Christian writers is to this effect; perhaps not a single passage in any writer of the second, third, or fourth century can be found which assigns any later date to any of these Scriptures. Nearly all of them claim to have been written within the period assigned. The exact date cannot be given, though in some instances it has been determined with great accuracy, probably within a few weeks, or even days, of the time of the actual writing; but approximate dates for all have been fully ascertained. All the Apostles had completed their work before 100 A. D. It was probably in the year 68, during the persecution under Nero, that St. Paul and St. Peter were killed at Rome. The execution of St. James, the son of ~~Zebedee~~, not the James who wrote the Epistle, is spoken of in the Acts. With the single exception of St. John, there is no ~~trustworthy evidence~~ even in tradition that any of the other Apostles lived till the end of the century, and it is wholly probable that they were of such an age while Jesus was living on earth, as to render their subsequent life not longer than about a generation after the crucifixion, even had they died a natural death. But we know that nearly all of them suffered martyrdom for their faith. St. John alone is said to have sur-

vived to an extreme old age, and to have died peacefully at last ; and the conjectures concerning the time of his death have ranged from A. D. 89 to A. D. 120. All the probabilities are, however, that the beloved disciple lived not later than the first decade of the second century, and even this must be considered as an extreme date. It follows, therefore, that the conclusion we have stated must be true, if, indeed, the various writings which claim their authorship were really composed by the Apostles. Of this there is no reasonable doubt. The only books of the New Testament which were not written by them, or by their immediate dictation, nevertheless give such evidence of having had their revision or approval as to make them of equal force with their own writings. The Gospel of St. Mark, it is generally believed, was prepared under the direct care of St. Peter ; the Gospel of St. Luke is the work of a close companion of St. Paul, and the same man wrote the Acts of the Apostles. The Epistle to the Hebrews bears every evidence of a right to a place among the apostolic letters.

Both the internal and external evidences are overwhelming in favor of the composition of all these writings within the first century, and by the authors to whom they are ascribed. It is plainly not the place to enter into the details of these evidences in these pages, but it is to be said simply that the result of the learned labors of scholars, among the very best of all countries is largely for this view. The reader may be referred to Tischendorf's "When were our Gospels written?" for a singularly clear statement concerning

these four books, which are the basis of the writings of the New Testament. The fourth Gospel has been the object of the greatest strife in this respect, but one cannot read the latest criticism upon the subject, as in Dr. Ezra Abbot's "The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel," without feeling that the question is settled. The external evidence, particularly, seems decisive with regard to all the New Testament Scriptures. It is clearly shown that the churches of the second century had nearly the whole of the canon as it now stands. A list was discovered by Muratori in A. D. 1738, and called, after him, the Muratori Fragment, which was written about the year 170, and which recognizes the Gospels,* the Acts, thirteen epistles of St. Paul, two of St. John, that of St. Jude, and the Revelation, while it gives the name also of an Apocalypse of Peter, with the remark, however, that "some of our body will not have the latter read in the church." † Again, the writings of the Fathers of the second century, and the versions of that date, also show that there must have been at that time an accepted book of Christian Scriptures, used constantly by the churches and individuals everywhere. But certainly this could not have been, without the lapse of considerable time after those Scriptures were written. Such a general acceptance in the second century must point back to a very early date for the

* The beginning and end of the document are lost, and the first reference is:—"The Gospel according to Luke is the third," after which the fourth Gospel is named, plainly implying that the lost portion enumerated Matthew and Mark as the first two Gospels.

† So Westcott.

authorship. It is like a large river bursting forth from the mouth of a cavern. The source of the stream is hidden from view, but not for a moment is it conceivable that the tiny springs, which are the origin of the flood, lie right at hand within the mouth of the cave. The very volume of the waves demands that the hidden sources shall be sought far away; the very force of the tide proves that the starting-point lies distant and higher up than the present course. If the Christians of the second century had a list of sacred books so complete as that indicated by the Muratori Canon, and confirmed by a multitude of references in other writings, the conclusion is irresistible that the books must have been written long previous. Very important testimony, even earlier than the list found by Muratori, is afforded curiously through the labors of a heretic to establish his own position. As early as A. D. 140, Marcion was a teacher at Rome, after exclusion from the Church at Sinope, in Asia Minor, of which his father was bishop. He made a list of Scriptures to suit his own heretical views, and included in it St. Paul's Epistles, and a mutilation of the Gospel of St. Luke. But instantly the indignation of the Church blazed forth, and through her great writers condemned such treatment of the sacred Scriptures. At least a score of documents were then claimed as of apostolic authority, and the belief of the Church thus early stamped those books with a canonical importance. And yet the establishment of the canon in its completeness could only be effected after a considerable lapse of time. The books were in existence when

the first century closed, but they were scattered, and some of them had not come to the knowledge of the churches in many localities. Yet their circulation would be certain, and in the course of time there would surely arise a general consent of the churches in their reception. Some of the originals required that they should be sent from one church to another.* Others were formally addressed to the whole Christian world,† or to large bodies of readers.‡ If the original were retained by the first church receiving it, doubtless copies would be made as speedily as possible, and sent forth to other places. This circulation would give all the churches a proprietorship in the books, and in the very nature of things, a certain defined list of the writings would be generally known after a considerable time. It would not be all made up at once and by some arbitrary decree of a church or a council. It would be a growth, but would surely come to its maturity at last. This is exactly what we find in history. It is probable that the earliest collection of the sacred books was made in Asia Minor,§ and included only the Epistles, to which the Gospels must have been very quickly added, as the testimony is especially full and clear that they were all used in the early part of the second century. But some of the writings were kept waiting for a long time before they were allowed admission into the list of fully accepted books. The Peshito, a Syriac translation, hereafter to

* Col. iv. 16. † Jude i. 1; 2 Peter i. 1.

‡ James i. 1; 1 Peter i. 1; Rev. i. 4.

§ Davidson, Biblical Criticism, p. 477.

be described, of very early date, shows by its omission of the second and third Epistles of St. John, the second of St. Peter, that of St. Jude, and the Revelation, that these books were still held in doubt when the translation was made. The Christians were not to be easily duped, and the very delay in the reception of some of the sacred books has had a happy influence upon the faith of all succeeding ages just on this account. Yet with the exception of the five books named above, to which the Epistle to the Hebrews should be added, all the New Testament was already recognized as inspired by the churches in Asia, Syria, Africa, and Italy, and the remaining books, before the passage of another century, found a generally recognized place in the canon. And all evidence goes to show that before the middle of the fourth century the canon, as we have it, was closed.

All this indicates that there must have been a multitude of *copies* of the sacred writings in existence very early, and they must have been scattered everywhere by the middle of the fourth century. If the originals were composed before the year 100, two hundred and fifty years had elapsed in which their copies had been scattered among the Christians all over the world. The way in which these copies were made, to be more especially considered upon a future page, did not prevent occasional errors in the text. No theory of inspiration has ever required all copies to be inspired. Just as in the case of all other books of those early times, various readings are found to exist in many places in the New Testament, and so it becomes neces-

sary to determine, if possible, which is the correct text,—that of the original document itself. These ancient copies of the writings of the New Testament are to be treated, therefore, exactly as the classical works of Greece and Rome are treated, so far as textual criticism is concerned. Every interpreter of the Bible wishes to know what was really written by the author whom he is studying. The reader of an English version, if he is not skilled in the original languages so that he can go back of the English text to that from which it was translated, has a right to demand some proofs of the true scholarship, the ability and honesty, of him who made the translation. In exactly the same way the reader of the Greek text pushes the inquiry still further back, that he may know whether the Greek he is reading was really what was written by the author in the apostolic age. And if there are two or more manuscripts, of the Gospel of Mark for instance, it is his work to take all the evidence into account by which he can determine whether, if these manuscripts differ in any respect, his text coincides with the correct reading, or not. So it is seen that, however valuable the work of an interpreter is, the determination of the text itself is of more value still and lies at the foundation of the interpreter's work. The first duty of all criticism is, therefore, the consideration of the correctness, or incorrectness, of the text itself, and the restoration of it, so far as may be possible, to the original readings of the autograph manuscript.

If, only, the autograph itself could be discovered, the task would be easy. But it is true of every one of

the New Testament writings that the original doubtless perished at an early date. Copies alone are found; it is to these that recourse must be had, and a judgment must be formed by a comparison of their texts with each other. It is fortunate that there are other helps also, as, for example, the various versions that have been made, for it is evident that a translation is an index of that from which the translation was made. If an early version indicated a reading different from that of the copies of manuscripts of about the same period, this version must of course be taken into account; it may be, perhaps, of even greater importance than the manuscripts of the text themselves of the same period, because it proves that they were not the originals—that a text must have existed earlier from which the version was made. Wonderful skill is required to collect all the evidence possible, and then determine between the false and the true; and the work of the textual critic is therefore deservedly reckoned as a science, having its own laws, and requiring the most careful training upon the part of every scholar who undertakes its difficult tasks. The principal sources from which such criticism derives its aid in determining the changes that have been made in the text of the New Testament, and which make it possible to restore the authentic readings, are thus enumerated by one of the greatest of these learned critics. Dr. Samuel Davidson, in his *Treatise on Biblical Criticism*, frequently referred to in these pages, gives these sources as follows:—

1. Ancient versions of the Sacred Scriptures.
2. Parallels or repeated passages.
3. Quotations.
4. MSS. or written copies.
5. Critical conjecture.

✓ This order is observed because, as a matter of fact, the manuscripts of the text so far as discovered at present are all of dates subsequent to sources of the first three kinds, which have been useful in this department of study. Not only have the autographs of the New Testament Scriptures been lost, but also all copies of them during the earliest years of Christianity have thus far eluded the most thorough search. Indeed there is a wide gap of almost three centuries between the original manuscripts of the Evangelists and Apostles, and the earliest copies of their writings which have yet been discovered. But this long interval is not without its important, its abundant witness to the real text of the originals themselves. The absence of the autographs and of their earlier copies may readily be explained by many reasons. As we shall soon see, it is almost certain that the originals and most of the first copies were written upon fragile papyrus, which probably soon crumbled away, or became so tattered and worn as to be practically useless. It is historical, too, that multitudes of these first Christian books were destroyed deliberately, or of necessity, within the first three centuries. In the various persecutions many of these precious volumes were lost. It was well understood by the heathen enemies of the young and growing Church, how

much value the Christians placed upon their Scriptures, as the source of their faith and the guide to their lives. In the last and fiercest persecution of all, that under Diocletian, from A. D. 303 to 312, it was proclaimed upon Easter-day,* that all religious assemblies should be dispersed, all Christian churches demolished, every copy of the Scriptures be delivered up and burnt, and the Christians themselves, who should refuse to sacrifice to the gods, should forfeit their lives and their estates. The decree shows how important it was deemed by the foes of the new religion to destroy the writings, as well as the lives and the property, of the Christians. By far the larger number refused to give up the books, and were punished with more or less severity, as the respective governors determined. In Abitina, for instance, a town in proconsular Africa, forty-nine Christians, who had assembled for the professed purpose of reading the Scriptures, and who refused to give up either their books, or their faith, were seized and executed, a heroic boy among them, whose name, Hilarianus, has been gratefully remembered in history on account of his fidelity and almost romantic devotion to the truth. But all were not so brave, and many of the weaker sort voluntarily gave up their books under threats of torture. There were so many of this class that a special name was attached to them, and they were called *Traditores*, or "Givers up." There were very few, even of the faithful, who could successfully conceal the books, and it is doubted by some scholars,† so great was the loss

* Guericke, Church History (Ancient) pp. 94 and 95.

† Scrivener, Six Lectures, p. 9.

of these years, whether any, or at most more than a few inconsiderable fragments, of the New Testament are now extant, older than the reign of Diocletian. But as I said, other sources are preserved from the interval between the apostolic days and the earliest known manuscripts, and these are of the first classes noted by Davidson. The first three centuries had many Christian writers, whose works stand now upon the shelves of our libraries, and in which are multitudinous quotations, with added comments and expositions, which are of inestimable service in determining the texts of the sacred manuscripts, which these writers possessed. If Irenaeus, in the second century, quoted a passage of Scripture, that passage, as it stands in his works, is a certain index of a text existing at that time, even though no separate manuscript of such an early date is found. And in the same way the existence of Syriac, Coptic, Latin, and other versions, though themselves belonging to dates not earlier than extant manuscripts, give evidence of the lost copies from which they were translated. It is, however, especially the fourth source in the order given by Davidson as quoted above, the manuscripts or written copies themselves, which are the special subject of the following pages, though incidentally, and around these as their centre, all of the other sources must be spoken of, and a few other topics briefly treated, as throwing light upon the main subject.

Will the reader be led to question, if all these things are so, whether we have really an inspired Bible to-day, and whether our religion is not after all

built upon a shaking foundation, if it rests simply upon Scriptures, that have become even in the slightest degree corrupt? Such a fear may indeed arise, but it may be as quickly dismissed. The very study of the manuscripts, which reveals these discrepancies, reveals far more their substantial unity, and leaves beyond question the fact that, in the common origin of them all, there was *the text*, which taught essentially the same truths which the later copies teach. The pyramids give no stronger testimony to their builders than the manuscripts in our possession give to the text originally written by Apostles and their associates. And all the corruptions of the original text in the copies are really no more than the stains and abrasions, the mutilations and accretions which have altered the pyramids from what they were when they first cast their pointed shadows over the sands of the Egyptian desert. The form, the body, the mass, the pyramid, is the same to-day that it ever was. There have been, indeed, many important lessons learned from the critical uses of the manuscripts. Many passages of doubtful import have been made clear by the alteration of a letter or word according to the suggestion of one of these ancient documents. Sometimes a whole verse or passage has been found to be spurious, an interpolation of a later date by some copyist who meant well indeed, but whose action was a serious mistake. But with all such corrections and with every change there has been no substantial alteration, nothing that has affected at all the great body of Christian truth, nothing that has imperilled

for a moment any doctrine of the Church. The Scriptures are too broad for that. They do not build their teachings upon any single verse. Line upon line, precept upon precept, they teach without uncertainty, and one part confirms another. And yet there are many delicate shades of meaning, which the devout reader will find of great use to his spiritual life, in almost every passage of the Christian Scriptures, and if even these can be brought out by a correction of the text, it is most desirable. But especially if, through the craft or even the well-meant interference of some copyist, a pernicious alteration has been made,—a change which teaches a really unscriptural thing, or which to the slightest degree obscures or complicates the statement of truth originally made,—it is evident that the greatest service to the reader and to the Church is performed, if the error is exposed. But such falsities are rare. Many passages, however, would have wholly failed to yield the truth without their elucidation by the critic of the text.

Michaelis classified the various readings of extant manuscripts as follows, though of course there are a few others of different kinds, which refuse to be classed with any and must stand as unique.

“The various readings in our manuscripts of the New Testament,” writes this critic, “have been occasioned by one of the five following causes:—

1. The omission, addition, or exchange of letters, syllables, or words, from the mere carelessness of the transcribers.

2. Mistakes of the transcribers in regard to the true text of the original.

3. Errors or imperfections in the ancient manuscript from which the transcriber copied.

4. Critical conjecture, or intended improvements of the original text.

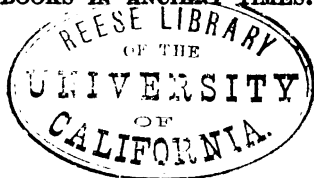
5. Wilful corruptions to serve the purpose of a party, whether orthodox or heterodox."

It may readily be seen that errors from the last source must be very few. The very hatred engendered by such party-strife, and the suspicion that such means might be resorted to for the support of asserted doctrine, would be sufficient to insure the keenest watchfulness lest the fraud should be consummated. It is hardly imaginable that errors of this kind could have remained long undetected.

Dr. John Mill of Oxford computed the various readings for the New Testament alone at about thirty thousand. This was in the year 1707. Probably the number that have been noted up to the present time would be more correctly stated at one hundred and twenty thousand. The vast mass of these, however, are of almost no importance, as will be more fully indicated in a subsequent chapter. It will be sufficient here merely to emphasize the statement, that with all these errors, the evidence for their correction is far stronger than any upon which our knowledge of other ancient books is based. The manuscripts of the Greek Scriptures, not merely those of the New Testament but also of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, are far more numerous, and surpass in age those of all classical writings put together. Of the writings of Homer, who lived perhaps eight or nine

hundred years before Christ, we know nothing except through copies that date from a time very long after Christ. No complete copy dates back farther than the thirteenth century, though fragments have come to light that should be assigned possibly to the sixth century. Herodotus, the most ancient and important of classic historians, has no manuscript extant earlier than the ninth century; and of the fifteen known to exist, the majority are later than the middle of the fifteenth century. Of Plato's writings there are fewer copies than of Herodotus, and none before the ninth century. A single Virgil in the Vatican Library claims to have originated in the fourth century, but it stands alone among the classics in its high antiquity. But of the New Testament there are thousands of manuscripts, and the earliest leave but a gap of about two centuries between them and the lives of the men who wrote the originals. The immense importance of these Scriptures, compared with the choicest of the classics, would seem to demand their fuller preservation and a more accurate means of determining their true text than in the case of any other compositions whatever; and the gratitude of Christendom is strongly called forth, because this demand is so fully met by the facts, and the testimony to the originals is so complete.

It is thus that the Book brings its lessons of God and godly living to the men of our day. There is no doubt to undermine our faith, there is no fear to cast a cloud over the radiance of divine truth that streams from the inspired Word.



CHAPTER II.

BOOKS IN ANCIENT TIMES.

IF the method in which books were made, before the art of printing and the improvements in the materials used in their manufacture gave them their present form, be considered, the story of the manuscripts will be the more easily told and understood. It will avail nothing to speak of the tablets used by the Greeks and Romans, even at the very time when the Christian Scriptures were beginning to be written, nor of other forms of books more ancient still, — like slabs of stone or metal, — which would be of the greatest importance were the present discussion with reference to the writings of the Old Testament. We have only to do with the kind of books that were in general use in the lands of the apostolic writers, and the materials which they commonly employed. And it is sufficient to note of all preceding writings, that the rudest forms had long since yielded to ingenious improvements, as civilization had advanced, so that in the times of the New Testament facilities for writing existed, which former ages would have counted themselves rich to possess. No longer were men engraving their histories in rude cuneiform characters upon such tablets of baked clay as were found in the ruins of the palace

of Koniunjik, at Nineveh, of about 670 B. C., and as they may still be seen in the British Museum. Even the delicate wood and ivory plates were now for the most part displaced among Greeks and Romans. When the writings of the New Testament were made, the river Nile had already been yielding for centuries its harvests of reeds, out of which a substance was manufactured more nearly resembling modern paper, than anything that had yet been seen. Fine skins of leather were also sewed together, forming long strips, which were rolled up upon wands after they had received the writing, and were kept in cases of leather, or wood, or metal. This is the origin of our word volume, from the Latin word *volvere*, to roll up. These strips of vellum or papyrus were about four inches in breadth, and only a few inches long, and were generally fastened together laterally, so that the whole made one long strip, as wide as the original pieces were long, and as long as the writing might require. The text upon these ancient rolls was usually written in columns corresponding to the original pieces of papyrus, or vellum, thus fastened together. Thus an open roll would exhibit a few, short, parallel columns; these would be read in their order, and rolled up, as fast as read, upon the stick held in the left hand, while new columns would appear from the roll held in the right hand. Undoubtedly, all the writers of the Bible before the times of the New Testament committed their works to parchment prepared in this form, and the sacred books in the possession of the Jewish synagogues, and

from which special lessons,* both from the Law and the Prophets, were read each Sabbath, were thus made, and entrusted in each synagogue to the care of a special officer, called the *chazzan*.

Sometimes, instead of this preparation in rolls, manuscripts would be written and the separate pages, or leaves, stitched together upon one side, thus making a book more in accordance with the modern form, though the lack of hydraulic pressure for solidifying the volume made such books very cumbersome, and they were comparatively few. Their number largely increased, however, as the use of skins superseded that of papyrus, which was the case in the early Christian centuries. The vast consumption of this product of the Nile at last exhausted the harvests of that river, and some substitute became necessary for the delicate fabric so long used. The preparation of skins was made more carefully, and very beautiful products were at last given to the market for the manufacture of books. The skins of young antelopes or of calves were dressed with the greatest care, and vellum, already so long in use, by the third century was greatly improved and was daily substituted for the material that had formerly been at once commoner and cheaper. And for many centuries vellum continued to be the principal material. It was not until the ninth century, when the art formerly employed in preparing the skins for vellum had greatly degenerated, that a coarse paper made from cotton rags began to be used; and it was only in the twelfth cen-

* Luke iv. 16, 17.

ture, not very long before the invention of printing, that linen paper was made, elegantly finished, and almost like the best vellum of the earlier times.

It must be remembered that the art of writing was for the most part confined to comparatively few people. Even those who were skilled with the style or pen generally employed amanuenses, if they undertook any long composition. And when more than one copy of an author's works was desired, the text was all written out again laboriously by hand. It was a special branch of business, to write for authors, or to copy their works. Paul, for example, did not write his own epistles. In that sense, none of the New Testament Scriptures are autographs. They were all written by amanuenses at the dictation of the authors. Paul's scribe was named Tertius.* When he writes to the Colossians† as well as in other cases, Paul adds a subscription, which sometimes takes the form of a salutation, *with his own hand*, thereby making the whole letter his own; and to the Galatians‡ he says: "Ye see" (not, "how large a letter," as King James's version has it) "with what large letters I have written unto you with mine own hand," thereby calling attention to his peculiar chirography as a special mark of the genuineness of the epistle. These scribes, accustomed to write from the most rapid dictation, were called tachygraphers, or quick writers. Then if the work was to be copied, as was usually the case,

* Rom. xvi. 32. † Col. iv. 18; 1 Cor. xvi. 21.

‡ Gal. vi. 11. See Ellicott, Commentary *in loco*. Ellicott thinks that the *whole* Epistle to the Galatians was written by St. Paul's own hand.

other scribes, trained especially for the work, and taking a longer time for its performance, re-wrote the whole text in beautifully formed letters. These scribes were called calligraphers, or fairhand writers, and the specimens of their work, which are extant, are sometimes as beautiful as engraving from copper-plate.

In the early centuries of our era, as well as during the Middle Ages, the word *librarius* meant either a bookseller or a transcriber of books, to which was sometimes added the meaning very nearly akin to our modern word librarian. But the more general usage was its application to one who wrote or copied manuscripts. In the Roman Empire these transcribers were often slaves, though there were many, especially in the provinces, who labored for pay which was generally wholly incommensurate with the labor performed. In Christian times the copies of all ecclesiastical works were usually made by members of the order for which the transcription was made; and because the monasteries became the principal repositories of learning a multitude of works not deemed sacred, but preserved only for their literary value, were thus stored away in the libraries. It may even be asserted, that had it not been for Christianity, and the care with which it fostered learning in the early times, our knowledge of the heathen classics would be far less than it is at present. It has been already remarked that the copies of such works are few, and it can hardly be doubted that they would be far fewer still, if the *librarii* of the monasteries had not devoted much time and labor to their preservation.

Origen is said to have been one of the first Christians who gave regular employment to transcribers. Alexander of Jerusalem, the bishop of the church, and Origen's friend, formed one of the earliest ecclesiastical libraries, and this collection gave aid to Eusebius in his works. The latter, it is said, received a commission from the Emperor Constantine to prepare fifty copies of the entire Greek Scriptures,* upon the finest material, and by the best workmen, and the volumes, when completed, were transported to Constantinople from Cæsarea in two of the government wagons. These manuscripts were inspected by the emperor himself, and then committed to the charge of the chief churches for use and preservation. It may be, as has been suggested, that the best manuscripts of the Scriptures in our possession had their origin in these copies made by the imperial command.

Christian scribes were of all offices and rank. It was not thought unworthy employment for even the highest dignitaries of the church to devote themselves to making elegant copies of the sacred books. And in the lower ranks in the monasteries, if a brother were found to have special abilities in such lines of work, he was excused the coarser and more violent kinds of labor that might naturally have fallen to his lot, and his hand was kept delicate and his powers fresh for the sacred employment of the scriptorium. It was not for him to hew wood or draw water; his care must be for the style and the brush, the ruler and

* Not merely of the Gospels, as Tregelles asserted. Comp. Bleek, *Einleitung*, § 268, 2.

compass, the inkstand and vial, the pounce and the mixing tablet, for thus only could the work be worthily done.

Alexandria in Egypt, and some other African localities, have given the most valuable manuscripts of the Bible to Christendom. But many other places, also, were fruitful in the production of books both sacred and profane. Those executed at Constantinople, often under the patronage of the Byzantine emperors, were famous for the excellence of their text and the splendor of their illuminations; while many valuable works are extant from Asia Minor, from the islands of the *Ægean* Sea, and from Cyprus. It will be noted by the reader that Mount Athos is frequently mentioned in connection with the manuscripts described in these pages. There was, indeed, no place more famous than this mountainous promontory for the production of ancient books. Upon the rocky heights of this headland there were multitudes of monasteries, so that the mountain seemed almost covered with them; and they were deemed secure from all violence alike on account of their natural position and because the sanctity of their recluses invested the place with special awe. Another celebrated group of monasteries was in Calabria, the most southern province of Italy, where nearly fifty religious establishments supplied the churches and libraries of Rome and Naples, Florence and Venice and Milan. And it is from a cathedral town of this region that in these late years the *Codex Rossanensis* has been brought to light, as described in a future chapter. Besides

these larger groups of monasteries there were a multitude of isolated retreats, whose inhabitants found congenial employment for the listless hours in thus transcribing the books around which the veneration of ages had already gathered.

The great value attached to the completed volumes may be readily imagined. The rules of monasteries frequently record the care with which the treasures of the library were guarded. Usually the ordinary monk was not allowed to have books from the library for his private use, except at certain seasons, as during Lent. It was sometimes prescribed that every monk should be provided with a handkerchief in which the volume was to be wrapped when not in use. Words like those that have kept the dust of Shakespeare untouched in the church at Stratford-on-Avon were sometimes written upon a book to save it from thieves, or even from careless misappropriation by some forgetful borrower. A curious instance occurs in the Missal of St. Maur des Fossés,* in which the words were written: "This book belongs to St. Mary and St. Peter, of the monastery of the Treuches. He who shall have stolen or sold it, or in any manner withdrawn it from this place; or he who shall have been its buyer, may he be forever in the company of Judas, Pilate, and Caiaphas. Amen, amen. Fiat, fiat. Brother Robert Gualensis, being yet young and a Levite, hath devoutly written it for his soul's health, in the time of Louis, king of the French, and of Ascelin, abbot of this place. Richard, prior and monk, caused this book

* Smith's Dict. of Christian Antiquities, II. 1013, b.

to be copied, in order to deserve the heavenly and blessed country. Thou, O priest, who ministerest before the Lord, be mindful of him. Pater noster." Another interesting example is in a copy of the Gospels of the thirteenth century: "This sacred gospel has been copied by the hand of George, priest of Rhodes, by the exertions and care of Athanasius, cloistered monk, and by the labour of Christonymus Chartinos, for their souls' health. If any man dare carry it off, either secretly or publicly, let him incur the malediction of the twelve apostles and let him also receive the heavier curse of all monks. Amen. The first day of the month of September, year 6743, of Jesus Christ 1215." Another instance that may be given is that of the celebrated Curetonian Gospels in Syriac, which contain upon the first leaf a record of the ownership of the volume, with a prayer, instead of the malediction of the preceding examples. The note is as follows:—"This book belonged to the monk Habibai, who presented it to the holy convent of the Church of Deipara, belonging to the Syrians in the Desert of Scete. May God, abounding in mercies and compassion, for the sake of whose glorious name he set apart and gave this spiritual treasure, forgive his sins and pardon his deficiencies, and number him among His own elect in the day of the resurrection of His friends, through the prayers of all the circle of the saints! Amen, Amen. — Son of the living God, at the hour of Thy judgment spare the sinner who wrote this!" Very often the colophon of a manuscript is very touching. Sometimes it records a

personal peculiarity, as in a case mentioned by Scrivener in which "the one-eyed Cyprian" is named. The same scholar also refers to the following distich, extracted from a manuscript in the valuable collection of the Baroness Burdett-Coutts (II. 10):

*ἡ μὲν χεὶρ ἡ γράψασα σήπεται τάφῳ,
ἡ δὲ βιβλος ἰσταται . . . μέχρι τεφμάτων.*

"The hand that wrote doth moulder in the tomb;
The Book abideth till the day of doom."

In the very nature of the case, it was impossible to make the copies of original works exactly like the autographs. However skilled the calligraphers might be, and however great may have been the advantages of seclusion and of reverence for their work, they would inevitably fail to reproduce the text with anything like the accuracy which our modern methods secure. By the perfected processes of book-making in our own time every volume of the same edition is a facsimile of every other. From the stereotyped plate a thousand pages are struck off with the greatest rapidity, and not one letter is lost from any page of the thousand. It was inevitable that the slow, wearisome process of copying by hand should be less accurate than this mechanical method. The scrupulous conscience of the most devout copyist could not prevent dimness from stealing over the eye, nor keep away the tremor from a tired hand. Interruptions would disturb even the most secret scriptorium, and the attention withdrawn suddenly from the work would return to it with less power to fix itself upon

the completion of the task. Thus a word might be begun correctly and finished incorrectly. A line or part of a line might be omitted. And if a sudden illness, or some equally untoward event, occasioned a delay, doubtless in many cases the writing was never resumed, and the manuscript remained forever incomplete. It was not infrequent in the Middle Ages that the piety and the skill of these copyists, who were generally monks, were equally famous; and if one of them died in the midst of his task, the awe-stricken brotherhood deemed his work too sacred to be finished by another's hand. A thousand casualties, indeed, in addition to all the imperfections that naturally attend such labors of eye and hand, occasioned what we now find in ancient manuscripts of every kind. Here and there are false readings; here and there are omissions of words and even of lines. In a multitude of cases the work is only a fragment of what was once written, worn away and tattered by the usage to which it has been subjected through many years. And sometimes the text was designedly destroyed. Vellum became so costly that authors obtained it only with the greatest difficulty, and a method was devised by which skins that had been already used could be cleansed and used again. The vegetable ink of those early times could be nearly obliterated, and many ancient manuscripts were thus made ready to receive a new text, written in the place of the old. Books thus made were called *palimpsests*, from Greek words signifying *rubbed away again*. But usually, as time went on, the older writing, obliterated only by imper-

fect methods, grew clear again, and the vellum bore two texts, the one written over the other, and both deciphered with the greatest difficulty. Sometimes the skin was prepared twice in this manner, and as the lapse of years, or the use of artificial means, restored the originals, a triple text appeared, demanding the most erudite and patient scholarship to decipher it correctly.

The most interesting discovery of ancient manuscripts, apart from those of the sacred books of Christianity, is that which was made at Herculaneum, the city of Campania in Italy which was buried in the same great eruption of Vesuvius which destroyed Pompeii, in the year 79. The earliest explorations in 1684 and 1720 were followed by the more energetic endeavors of excavators, who worked under a royal commission, and the number of works of art brought to light was largely increased. It was at this period, in the decade from 1750 to 1760, that a villa was uncovered in which was found a library of about two thousand volumes. The rolls were badly damaged, and bore traces of having been subjected to intense heat. They were finally successfully treated by Antonio Piaggi of the Vatican Library, and their contents made legible. It was found that none of the works were of any great importance, but the form and fashion of the books gave to them a special value, as showing the kind of volumes that existed in the first century of the Christian era, when these had been buried under the lava and ashes of Vesuvius. They are the only undoubted specimens of books contem-

poraneous with the writings of the Apostles. They are written in uncials which captivate the eye by their minuteness and elegance. There are no accents or breathings, the punctuation is very rare, and the spaces between sentences few. In a word, they give the best idea of the probable aspect of the apostolic writings; and the earliest manuscripts of the New Testament extant are very similar to these unquestioned specimens of the literature of the first century.

The invention of printing in 1452 may be considered as the close of the period of ancient book-making. The first production of the press of considerable importance was the elegant Latin Bible of Gutenberg, issued in 1456.* It was in three volumes, folio, with two columns of thirty-six lines to a page. The text was an imitation of the text of manuscripts; it was printed on vellum and illuminated by hand. The subsequent multiplication of copies by Gutenberg's former associates, Faust and Schoeffer, their exact uniformity and low price, excited the greatest wonder. It could not be credited that such work could be done without the aid of power beyond that which was human, and the printers barely escaped from the punishment usually inflicted in those days upon men who were in league with the devil. They saved their lives only by revealing the methods by which the pages were reproduced, and the knowledge of the invention soon spread over

* A copy of this first printed book has just been sold in New York for \$8,000, and the last copy which was sold in England was purchased by the Earl of Ashburnham for £3,400, said to be the highest price ever paid for a book.

Europe. It was the end of the old fashions, the beginning of the modern period; and though for a brief time manuscripts were still written as of old, the practice soon died out under the rapidly increasing facilities afforded by the press.

CHAPTER III.

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE CHRISTIAN SCRIPTURES.

It is almost certain that the writers of the originals of the New Testament employed the papyrus paper as the material upon which they wrote. The vellum of their day was far more costly than the papyrus, and the latter was in more general use for all short records, letters, or any writings that were not deemed specially worthy of preservation. It is quite conceivable that, at least in many instances, the apostles hardly realized what they were doing when they were sending their letters to the churches. Were they aware that they were writing not merely for the Christians of their own times, but for the Church in all ages and in all the lands of the earth? It is hardly credible. They could have had no conception of how the very original manuscript would be cherished at the end of a few hundred years, if it should then be in existence; otherwise, they would doubtless have used the more enduring materials. The papyrus leaves were frail, and would not suffer much handling. It may be a matter for wonder that the churches did not at once provide copies upon vellum, which could the more easily be preserved. Doubtless they did cause such copies to be made, though they may have waited until after the death of the authors, or until the signs of the

destruction of the papyrus became too threatening to be neglected. But as time went on, as the apostles died, as their works became worn and mutilated, copies were multiplied until it became impossible that any chance or change could ever deprive the world of the priceless treasure given to it in the New Testament Scriptures.

The number of manuscripts of the New Testament, or of parts of it, thus far discovered is large. It has been estimated that there must be somewhat more than two thousand documents of this kind scattered among the great libraries of Christendom. Those of the earlier dates are naturally the most rare. Only two can be assigned with certainty to the fourth century, though a few important manuscript *versions* of the same date are extant. Several date from the next two centuries, and the number increases steadily down to the tenth century, after which there are a multitude already discovered. How many more remain upon the shelves of monasteries whose dust has not been disturbed for decades, or even for centuries, no one can say, but it may be that from these hidden treasures shall yet be brought forth ancient copies which shall be of immense value in determining the true reading of the Scriptures. It was not until 1844 and 1859 that the two parts of the famous Sinaitic manuscript of the fourth century were discovered, and only so late as 1879 the world was startled by the report that a new document containing almost the whole text of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark had been found, an aid to criticism then hoped

to be equal to the best manuscripts previously in our hands. The story of these discoveries will be given in subsequent chapters; but it is evident, from the fact that they have come to light only in these late years, that there may yet be valuable treasures awaiting the search of future scholars.

The documents thus far found are divided into classes, and distinguished by certain marks, whereby they are known to all scholars. Two great divisions have been made according to the form of the characters employed. In the earlier manuscripts all the letters are of the same size, capitals, and written for the most part without breaks or stops; none of the letters trespass upon the margins of the page, and the uniformity of the lines is not broken even for the sake of preventing the division of a word. If a corresponding example be given in English the appearance of such a manuscript may be the more easily conceived. Take, for example, two verses of the last chapter of the Gospel of St. Mark (xvi. 4, 5). As these verses appear in the Vatican and Sinaitic manuscripts, before any additions were made to the text, they are equivalent to the following English, though the order of the words in the originals is different, according to the Greek forms of the sentence.

ANDWHENTHEYLOOKEDTHEYS
 AWTTHATTHESTONEWASROLLE
 DAWAYFORITWASVERYGREAT
 ANDENTERINGINTOTHESEPU
 LCHRETHEYSAWAYOUNGMANS
 ITTINGONTHERIGHTSIDECL
 OTHEDINALONGWHITEGARME
 NTANDTHEYWEREAFFRIGHTE
 D

The term *uncial* was given to manuscripts written in this manner, from the Latin word *uncia*, an inch, the letters sometimes being nearly an inch long. This method of writing was employed in the times of the Saviour and His apostles, and was changed only very gradually. After a time a letter larger than the others would occasionally mark the beginning of a sentence. Then decorations were added to this initial letter, and its size was so increased as to occupy a part of the margin. Spaces between the words began to appear, and the whole text was punctuated with more or less accuracy. Finally, every letter was slightly inclined, as the natural tendency in modern chirography and in all rapid writing is to slant the characters. And so, at last, about the beginning of the tenth century, the letters employed were smaller and often connected together, and a running hand became the ordinary method of writing. These manuscripts were therefore called *cursive*, and on account of their later date and more rapid production are of less value than the uncials. Many of them are volumes of the greatest elegance. The vellum most delicately finished, and often dyed a rich color, and the text beautifully written sometimes in silver, or colored inks, and adorned with brilliant illuminations, testify to the immense labor and pious care of the monks, who often gave their lives to the work. The cursives are very numerous, and sixteen hundred of them appear in catalogues, though not more than a hundred of these have been collated and made the objects of critical study. The uncials, as the older and more valuable, have, of course, occupied the greater attention of scholars.

There are many manuscripts, some of them of high importance, which have their Scriptures so divided as to have received a special name, according to the purposes for which they were used. These are the Lectionaries, themselves divided and named according to the Scriptures they contain. They were Service-books, with portions appointed for reading in order for each day, without reference to their original places in the New Testament. Each date had a passage from the Gospels and one from the Epistles assigned to it, and these lessons were generally bound in separate volumes, those from the Gospels together, and those from the other parts by themselves. This custom gave rise to two names: the Evangelistaria, for the volumes containing the lessons from the Gospels; and the Praxapostolos, a compound word from the Greek words for *acts* and *apostle*, for the book containing the lessons from the Acts and Epistles. The Evangelistaria outnumber the Praxapostoloi more than three to one. It will be very readily seen, that, though these Lectionaries do not profess to give a connected text, they are of great value in determining the reading of whatever Scriptures they were copied from, so far as the selections preserved in them are concerned. And it must be, that no inconsiderable portion of the New Testament would be found in a Service-book containing lessons not only for Feast-days marked by special services, but for every day in the year.

The inconveniences of a mode of writing which left no spaces between the words and sentences, and which had no punctuation or other aids to the eye

and tongue in reading, were early felt, and led to attempts to remedy the evil. Such efforts have been briefly sketched already, in speaking of the gradual transition from the uncial to the cursive methods of writing. But it should be marked that some faint traces, at least, of attempts to punctuate are to be found in almost all the manuscripts in our possession, while very many exhibit definite and well-formed systems of divisions, by which changes of topic and the necessary separation of sentences and words in reading are indicated. Even as early as the beginning of the third century some attempt had been made to divide the text into heads or chapters, for Tertullian, who died previous to the year 240, speaks of it. The divisions that appear in some manuscripts, called the Ammonian-Eusebian sections, mark another attempt of the kind. They were definite divisions of the Gospels into chapters, and were smaller than those of the present time. They received their name because they were originally adopted by Ammonius of Alexandria, who made a harmony of the Gospels, and divided the text thus; a plan subsequently adapted to a similar work by Eusebius. They are usually numbered in the margins. Another division of the text, later than these sections, were the *τίτλοι*, or titles, larger portions than the Ammonian sections, and so called because the titles, or subjects, were written in the upper or lower margins. A very noteworthy attempt to write the text in such a manner as to assist the eye and voice of the reader, was made by Euthalius of Alexandria in the year 462. This di-

vision was especially useful in the public reading of the Scriptures. Euthalius first caused the Epistles of St. Paul, and a little later the Acts and General Epistles to be written in lines, or *stichoi* (στίχοι) as they were called, containing the words that were to be read without interruption. The same method was also applied to the Gospels, but probably not by Euthalius himself. Such a way of writing was called *stichometry*, and several extant manuscripts are in this form, as the celebrated codices Cantabrigiensis and Laudianus. The system was too cumbersome to be universally adopted; very few words could be contained in a single line, and sometimes only one word, in order to make the reading clear. Some manuscripts exist, for example Laudianus, named above, which rarely have more than a single word in a line. A great loss of space inevitably attends such writing, and it could never be popular. Simpler methods of punctuation by dots, with spacing of words and sentences, gained constantly in favor, and after the tenth century became very common. It is to be remembered, however, that no uniformity in the laws of punctuation was acquired until after the invention of printing in the fifteenth century, which gave a multitude of facsimile copies of the Bible to the world.

Entire copies of the New Testament were often made, by bringing together manuscripts of the various books, which were written at different times and by various hands. The fact that a copy is entire is not necessarily, therefore, a proof that the text of all its

parts is of equal age and value. But these characteristics betray themselves almost inevitably to the scholar, and the origin of different parts of the same manuscript can be assigned with great accuracy.

The order of the books is generally the same, although it differs somewhat from their position in the volume to which we are accustomed. The Gospels stand first, in the order in which we have them, then the Acts, then the General Epistles, then the Epistles of Paul, and the Revelation. Occasionally the Epistles of Paul are placed next to the Gospels, the Acts follows, then the General Epistles and the Revelation. Other slight variations sometimes appear.

All the extant manuscripts of the New Testament are in the form of books;* the earlier rolls have transmitted no specimen from their number to us. These books are in several forms, folio, quarto, and duodecimo. If a manuscript contains the entire Bible, or a large part of it, it may occupy more than one volume, the number depending not merely upon the amount of text preserved, but also upon the size of the characters and the nature of the material employed. It is evident that a manuscript book must be much larger than a printed one under ordinary circumstances, and some of the fragments of the Scriptures preserved are of greater size than the large quarto Bibles of the present day.

Almost all the great libraries and museums of the Old World possess manuscripts of the Scriptures of greater or less value. The most important documents

Compare Bleek's *Einleitung*, § 268, 3.

are deposited as follows.* England has about two hundred and fifty, more than half of which are at Oxford, seventy-five in the British Museum in London, twenty-four in Lambeth Palace, nineteen in the libraries at Cambridge, seventeen in the possession of the Hon. Robert Curzon in Sussex, and the rest are scattered. Scotland has seven, and Ireland three. Italy contains three hundred and twenty. More than half of these are in Rome, and more than one hundred in the Vatican Library. About fifty are in Florence, twenty in Turin, nine in Naples, fifty in Venice, six in Modena, two in Messina, and a few are scattered. Two hundred and twenty-eight are in the Imperial Library in Paris, and there are ten besides in France. In Germany and Austria there are about ninety. Vienna has twenty-eight, Munich twenty-seven, Hamburg six, Pesth two, Treves two, and others are scattered. Russia has over seventy, of which the most important are in St. Petersburg. There are nineteen in Spain, one in Toledo, and all the rest in the Escorial at Madrid. Switzerland possesses fourteen, Holland six, Denmark three, and Sweden one.

It is not infrequent that manuscripts once entire exist now only in parts, which are treasured in widely separated libraries. Two uncials of great importance were discovered in fragments, and are deposited in distant places, a portion of each lying in the library at St. Petersburg, while the other parts are in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Even the famous Sinaitic manuscript itself has forty-three leaves at Leipzig,

* Prof. A. N. Arnold in *Baptist Quarterly* for October, 1867.

while the larger portion of the volume is at St. Petersburg. And of another and smaller codex, dating from the sixth century and once a very beautiful volume, thirty-three leaves have recently been discovered in the Isle of Patmos, while twelve others have long been in the possession of European libraries, four in the British Museum, six in the Vatican at Rome, and two in the Imperial Library at Vienna.

The method of indicating the manuscripts which has been adopted by scholars generally, assigns to each one a special letter or number. The term *codex*, — the Latin word for a book, the leaves of which were not rolled together as in the *volumina*, but were laid over each other as in modern volumes, — is applied to the manuscripts, as a shorter and more convenient term, and they are spoken of as Codex A, Codex B, Codex X, Codex 33, Codex 157, etc. It must be remembered, however, that the whole New Testament is very rarely contained in a single manuscript, and the same letter is sometimes applied to one codex containing one portion of the New Testament, and to another containing another portion. For instance, Codex D of the Gospels and Acts (one manuscript) is the Codex of Beza in the possession of the University of Cambridge; while Codex D of the Epistles of St. Paul, which bears a close resemblance to D of the Gospels and Acts and was also discovered by Beza, is the name of No. 107 in the National Library of Paris. In like manner there are three manuscripts designated by the capital letter E. Codex E of the Gospels of the eighth century is at Basle, while E of the Acts,

belonging to the sixth century, is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford; and E of the Epistles of St. Paul, dating from the tenth century, is at St. Petersburg. Such a method of designating these manuscripts might seem to be attended with confusion, at first sight; but really there is no serious difficulty presented. If the documents are referred to without respect to any particular passage, they can always be marked with exactness by mentioning the portion of Scripture included, as, for example, Codex D of the Epistles; while the discussion of any special text of itself determines at once the meaning of the letter attached to the codex containing it, as, if a passage in the Epistle to the Romans were in question, a simple reference to Codex D would instantly be understood as referring to No. 107 of the National Library at Paris, and not to Codex D of the Gospels and Acts.

There is but one uncial manuscript, which contains the entire New Testament—the word *entire* taken in a general sense, for even this codex has rare and slight omissions. Only about thirty of all kinds contain substantially all of the Christian books. The copies which have the Gospels are far more numerous than those of other parts of the New Testament.

Sixty-three uncials of all sorts are tabulated according to the most recent computations,* and fifty-six of these contain the Gospels,† or parts of them. To the number of uncials should now be added the Codex

* Compare The Critical Handbook, E. C. Mitchell (1880) with Tables revised by Dr. Ezra Abbot.

† Scrivener; Plain Introduction, 269.

Rossanensis, recently discovered, which is described in detail in a future chapter. It is to be reckoned with the copies of the Gospels. Some of these uncials are mere fragments, one containing only six leaves (Y) with one hundred and thirty-seven verses of St. John, another (W*) having only six verses of the same Gospel. Of the cursive manuscripts six hundred and twenty-three are enumerated by Scrivener as having the Gospels. There are fourteen uncials and two hundred and thirty-two cursives of the Acts and General Epistles; fifteen uncials and two hundred and eighty-three cursives of the Epistles of St. Paul; five uncials and one hundred and five cursives of the Revelation; sixty-one uncial and two hundred and eighty-five cursive Evangelistaria are mentioned, and seven uncial and seventy-four cursive copies of the Praxapostolos. After giving the lists of these manuscripts, covering many pages of his Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament, Scrivener adds the Greek words of St. Matthew's Gospel, ix. 37:—

“The harvest truly is plenteous, but the laborers are few.”

It should be remembered, however, that even this great number of registered manuscripts does not exhaust the list of documents employed by the critic, for it does not mention the versions, nor the patristic sources for the determination of the text.

From what has been said already, it will readily be seen that the determination of the age of a manuscript is of first importance. This is accomplished by a careful study of the style of the letters, and the kind

of material upon which it is written, the use of accents, divisions, punctuation, marginal adornments or notes, inscriptions, subscriptions, and similar signs. There is little difficulty in assigning a date, with a very considerable degree of certainty, to many of the codices in our possession, and of the more doubtful cases the opinions of scholars vary not more than by a single century in any important instance. The method of ascertaining the date of the writing is substantially the same as that which may be applied to any printed book. A rare copy of Spenser's works lies before the writer, and a glance at the texture of the paper and at the quaint type is sufficient to produce the conviction that the book could not have been printed within the last fifty years, notwithstanding its fresh binding; and a closer inspection leaves no room for wonder that the title-page should bear the date 1679. A copy of Froissart's Chronicles, printed in black-letter upon paper that has been yellowed by the passage of hundreds of years, will tell its story of antiquity to any child, and the skilled eye of the lover of books will have little trouble in assigning it a date within a few decades of the true one. And so in the case of the manuscripts under consideration, it is evident that if the date of the production of any one of them is not inscribed upon it, — for in many instances the date is thus written and needs only to be verified by a concurrence of the characteristics of the manuscript itself, — the fact that it is written upon vellum of an early century would indicate beyond question that it was not produced during the later centuries, in which

the brown and rough paper made of cotton rags was used. The employment of uncials of a particular form, similar to those found in other manuscripts of a known date, settles the question for some of the codices, examples of which will be noticed hereafter in the chapters upon the most celebrated documents extant. If there are several columns upon a single page, after the manner more anciently employed in the production of the papyrus-rolls, the manuscript may be ascribed to a date very near to the time of such rolls themselves. Again, if the stichometrical form of writing is employed, it is plain that some date must be assigned within the limits of the time in which it was the fashion to follow the example set by Euthalius of Alexandria. Or if it is a palimpsest which is to be examined, it is safe to assign to the older writing, over which the later text was written, a great antiquity, as in the case of the Codex of Ephraem, as it is called, and which surely belonged to the fifth century. But the more minute signs by which the age of a manuscript may be tested are of still greater importance, for they serve to fix the time of the writing with greater exactness, after the general period has been determined. Slight peculiarities in the formation of the letters and the use of additional marks frequently betray valuable secrets, and in some cases even the hand of the transcriber is revealed. The celebrated critic, Dr. F. H. Scrivener, speaks of three manuscripts as certainly written by the same scribe, and he adds a fourth to the number, whose elegant characters and highly finished pages

bear almost unmistakable testimony to the skill of the same accomplished workman. It would be impossible, as well as unnecessary, in the absence of the manuscripts themselves, or of facsimile copies, to indicate to the reader these slighter marks, which are of such great importance to critical scholars. It suffices to say, that the utmost confidence may be placed in the decisions drawn from them by these competent critics, and that if anything may be believed upon evidence afforded by others, the case of the antiquity and authority of the most celebrated copies of the Scriptures may be considered settled.

It would be a great error to suppose that critical work upon the manuscripts has only been done in our later times. It is frequently asserted by those who oppose the Scriptures on the ground of genuineness, that the age in which they were written and came into use was wholly uncritical, and that a spurious document might easily have found its way to the acceptance of the churches. Just the contrary, however, is the case. The quotations of the earliest Fathers, to which brief reference has already been made, prove beyond question that they studied the documents in their possession with scrupulous care, comparing one with another and noting their differences, weighing the evidence for the truth, not only of every entire work, but of every reading of the various copies, with eager solicitude. Origen was a discriminating student and editor of the Septuagint, and his labors upon the text of the New Testament were the work of an acute and trained scholar; and Eusebius,

a man of the greatest learning, spared no pains nor expense, in journeys and study, to discover sources of Christian history, and his division of all the books in the hands of the churches into three classes, the genuine, the disputed, and the spurious, proves the care with which such documents were scrutinized. Evidence of this kind, from the middle of the third and the beginning of the fourth centuries, is of indisputable importance in critical study. But the very manuscripts themselves bear testimony to the constant efforts through all the succeeding centuries to secure a correct text of Scripture, for they are filled with marginal notes and corrections, often lamentably false, but showing the desire to reach the truth, if possible. Moreover the exertions of learned communities, such as those of Alexandria and Carthage, can by no means be forgotten. In these centres of learning, there was the greatest interest manifested in the new Christian literature and its principal doctrines. Writers were found to oppose, as well as to favor, and the result of the numerous controversies was inevitably in favor of a close discrimination of any differences in the manuscripts which were the subjects of discussion. And yet, it is not claimed that even the most elaborate studies of the early centuries are to be at all compared with the researches of more modern times. It was very natural when editions of the Bible began to appear in print in the fifteenth, and especially in the sixteenth, century, that the text thus given to the world should at once assert for itself a peculiar authority, and also be subjected to a wide criticism upon the part of scholars. In the year 1502

Cardinal Ximenes engaged a large number of scholars to prepare an edition of the whole Bible in the original Hebrew and Greek with the Chaldee of Onkelos, the Septuagint Greek, and the Vulgate. This immense undertaking was commenced by the study of the New Testament, which was finished in 1514 and published in 1520. For this edition the celebrated scholars engaged in the work had the use of manuscripts said to have been put at their disposal by the guardians of the Papal Library at Rome. What these manuscripts were has never been clearly known, though they were probably of late dates. This edition was called the Complutensian New Testament, from Complutum, where the work was executed. An edition by Erasmus followed in 1516, and another in 1519, confessedly prepared with too much haste and from manuscripts still preserved at Basle, dating from about the sixteenth century, with one or two others somewhat older but not of prime value. Other editions appeared from time to time, the names of Colinæus, Stephens, Beza, the Elzevirs, and others, standing upon their pages, but still deficient in the great elements of sound criticism afterward to be enunciated. Out of these early efforts, however, grew the term *Textus Receptus*, or the Received Text. The name has sometimes been applied to the text of Stephens, sometimes to that of Beza, and when the edition of the Elzevirs in 1624 appeared, to some degree uniting the texts of Stephens and Beza, the term was also applied to the new work. With some indefiniteness, therefore, and yet with a general reference to the text of this period, the term *Textus*

Receptus has come down to this day. But it is manifest that the comparatively few and late manuscripts used in the preparation of these early editions could only give results often imperfect, and gradually the desires of Biblical scholars were kindled for a further correction of the text. Bentley in England undertook the work, but his edition was never completed. German scholars united their efforts in the task of classifying existing documents. Griesbach, Scholz, and others brought their departments of study up to the dignity of science. But it was reserved for Lachmann, beginning in 1821, to give application to the great principles of criticism which are generally acknowledged at the present time, and which demand an utter freedom from the claims of the received text, conceding authority to it only as it is supported by the most ancient and valuable manuscripts.

Thus it was that only in the present century the science of Biblical Criticism cast off its shackles and advanced to its greatest triumphs. Almost simultaneously the renowned scholars, Constantin Tischendorf in Germany, and Samuel Prideaux Tregelles, began their publications. Other scholars of almost equal note have devoted their lives to the same pursuits with unexampled and well rewarded ardor. Great discoveries, hereafter to be detailed in these pages, and of the most romantic interest, have contributed their invaluable aid to the revision of the sacred text. No longer are the precious secrets of the earliest Christian documents buried away in monasteries and libraries, but in editions of the New Testament of little cost may be possessed by every one.

The question may well be raised, however, concerning the discovery and use of the ancient copies of the Scriptures: Is there no chance of mistake? Is it not possible even that the critics may be deceived by deliberate attempts at imposture? In the eager search for such documents — these

“rolls

And old records from ancient times derived,
Some made in books, some in long parchment scrolls,
That were worm-eaten all and full of canker-holes,”—

the value of them has been fully published, and sometimes great sums offered for them. May not the “worm-eaten” and “canker-holed” vellum have been counterfeited, the text accurately forged, and the whole fraud palmed off upon guileless students, who have been only too ready to believe in what promised satisfaction to their long-cherished desires?

Such attempts at imposture have actually been made, but the very fact that they were detected and are now famous as among the most skilfully executed frauds the world has ever seen, is a guarantee of the superior watchfulness and the critical learning of Christian scholars. No bolder attempts to deceive, nor any more nearly successful in the case of any important Scriptural documents, have been made than those which have rendered the name of Constantine Simonides famous, in connection especially with the Sinaitic manuscript discovered by Tischendorf. An account of this attempt must be deferred to the chapter upon that celebrated codex, but similar efforts may be mentioned here, as illustrative of the method

pursued. This same man, Constantine Simonides, early in the year 1856, through the aid of a professor in Leipzig, undertook to sell a manuscript of the Egyptian History of Uranios, son of Anaximines, to the Academy of Berlin. A few leaves of the very ancient and important Shepherd of Hermas were also offered, and these were bought, while twenty-five hundred thalers, only half the price of the history, were paid. At this juncture a message arrived from Professor Lykurgos of Athens, that both the manuscripts were probably spurious. Professor Tischendorf at once examined them critically and pronounced them false. But when people have been cheated they do not like to confess it, and in this instance there was much opposition to the decision of Tischendorf. Simonides himself had not ventured to go to Berlin with his wares, and the negotiations had been effected by proxies, as already said. Tischendorf, who had examined the documents in Leipzig, instantly telegraphed to Humboldt in Berlin, and the despatch was given to the president of the Academy. By his order the documents were tested microscopically and chemically, and Simonides was promptly arrested. But this was not the only attempt made by this man. He offered to the Bodleian Library at Oxford, England, several manuscripts, some of which were genuine. These were of no very great value, but were discussed by the librarian with the vendor, and a ready agreement as to their belonging to the tenth, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries was obtained. But then a few fragments were produced, handled with

the greatest care, which revealed an uncial text apparently of the highest antiquity. The vellum upon which it was written was stained by age, and bore every mark of having come down from a very remote time. The librarian *smelt* of the leaves, gave them back to the vendor, with the single remark that the manuscript dated *from the middle of the nineteenth century*, and the foiled Simonides departed. Unfortunately, however, he found a lover of such treasures in a private home in Worcestershire, and sold them there for a large sum. If it were a question only of the materials used, imposition might be easily practised; but the text betrays it, and the most exact imitation in other respects must always fail in the text to meet the demands of the deeply versed scholarship of modern days. Scrivener says that "with respect to Biblical manuscripts in particular, we may confidently assert that there are fifty persons at least now in England who, on internal grounds alone, from their intimate knowledge of what a genuine record ought to and must contain, would at once detect with perfect ease any—the most highly finished—imitation that dishonest skill could execute, provided the document extended beyond the length of a very few lines." *

* Six Lectures, p. 22.



CHAPTER IV.

THE ALEXANDRINE MANUSCRIPT.

THE CODEX A is the earliest that was thoroughly studied by scholars for the purpose of correcting the text of the New Testament and determining, with a greater degree of accuracy than had been previously attained, what must have been the original reading of the manuscripts given to the churches in the apostolic age.

This Codex is, however, only the third in point of value and antiquity, being outranked in these respects by B, the most celebrated document of the Vatican, and by \aleph , the Sinaitic manuscript in the possession of the Russian government.

The Alexandrine manuscript is in the British Museum. It was presented to Charles I. in 1628 by Cyril Lucar, the Patriarch of Constantinople, who brought it himself from Egypt. When the British Museum was founded in 1753, it was immediately transferred from the royal private collection to this national depository. It is in four volumes, three of which contain the Old Testament in the Septuagint version, and the fourth the New Testament with many defects, for it commences with the sixth verse of the twenty-fifth chapter of Matthew's Gospel, omits the

passage from John vi. 50 to John viii. 52, and also that from 2 Cor. iv. 13 to xii. 6. In several places, too, single letters have been cut off in the process of binding. But at the close of the New Testament is added a work of rare value, since it is the only extant copy of the earliest of the Apostolic Fathers, the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, together with a part of a second epistle, whose authorship is more doubtful. The Patriarch of Constantinople, who secured the manuscript during his previous patriarchate in Egypt,* testified in an autograph note upon the document itself, that the tradition in Egypt concerning it was, that it was written by Thecla, a noble lady of Egypt, thirteen hundred years previous to its acquisition by himself, which would place its origin early in the fourth century. This is consistent with an inscription in Arabic upon the reverse of the first leaf, which also declares it to be by the hand of Thecla, the martyr. But this declaration carries suspicion in itself. Thecla the martyr lived at a very early date; and in the first Christian centuries a vast number of legends had gathered about her name. Her history is referred to by many great writers, Cyprian and Eusebius, Epiphanius, Austin, Gregory of Nazianzum, Chrysostom and others, recording the popular esteem in which her faith and virtues were held. Among the apocryphal writings

* According to another account emanating from one of Cyril's deacons, he obtained the manuscript at Mount Athos, where he dwelt for a long period previous to his Patriarchate in Alexandria. Comp. Bleek, *Einleitung*, § 269, 1.

that have claimed a place in the New Testament, is one called the Acts of Paul and Thecla, which Tertullian says was forged by a presbyter of Asia, who, "when convicted, confessed that he did it out of respect of Paul." The manuscript of this forgery is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, though it has been denied that this is the original Acts of Paul and Thecla, that was in the hands of early Christians. All this readiness to connect the name of Thecla with ancient Christian history, and the sanctity that was attached to her person, would naturally aid any tendency to unite her name with this valuable manuscript. If the idea were once started, that the martyr and saint made this precious volume, it would find constantly increasing support from the veneration bestowed upon her memory. But the fact that her martyrdom was so very early renders it entirely improbable, and certain signs in the manuscript itself declare it to have been impossible that it was written by her hand. May not the work have been done by some other Thecla, then, who has been confounded with the martyr on account of the popular predisposition to honor the saint? It is possible. Another Thecla, who was a friend and valued assistant of Gregory of Nazianzum in the fourth century, may have been the copyist of the Alexandrine pages, and yet there is nothing to prove the fact, while some indications would seem to assign the work to a somewhat later date, probably the beginning of the fifth century, the conclusion reached by Scrivener,* though

* Six Lectures, p. 54; Plain Introduction, p. 92.

Davidson has assigned it to the middle of that century.* On the whole, the conjecture of Tregelles as to the copyist seems the most likely to be true. He suggests, that the beginning of the New Testament portion of the manuscript, Matt. xxv. 6, is a part of the appointed lesson in the Greek church for the festival of Saint Thecla, and that her name may have been written on the margin at the top of the first page, a superscription that might have been readily mistaken for the name of the writer by whose hand the work was done. The margins have been narrowed in the process of binding and the name has disappeared, if it was ever there; but certainly the fact that the first words of the New Testament portion are a part of the lesson appointed for this saint's day, is highly suggestive of the reason why her name should be so intimately connected with the codex.

The vellum of this ancient book is well preserved, though in many places holes appear in the pages, and the material is so fragile that it is kept under glass, and none but the most competent scholars are allowed to touch it, and these only for the purposes of textual study. The letters are uncial, rounder, larger, and more elegant than those in the Vatican Codex. There is no separation between the words, though occasional marks of punctuation appear; there are no accents or breathing marks, no cases of stichometry, and the abbreviations are not frequent. The text is divided into sections, or *titloi*, and Ammonian sections, called heads, but there are no such divisions as those origin-

* Bib. Crit. p. 719.

ated by Euthalius, though paragraphs and periods are frequently marked by a new line and initial letter. This manuscript is the most ancient in which capital letters occur. Some of them are larger than others, but they are written in the same ink as the body of the text. In several places, at the beginnings of books, the first line is in vermilion. Each page has two columns, each of fifty lines, with about twenty letters to the line.

Whoever the copyist was, though saint and martyr Thecla herself, the work shows many signs of carelessness and inattention. There are frequent omissions and many mistakes in spelling. Corrections often mar the page, and traces of the knife or sponge are very often discoverable. Letters originally omitted are written in between the lines over the spaces they should occupy. And apparently the text has at some time been subjected to a revision, for certain corrections appear, though unfortunately not always in the right place. In addition to these defects there are many occasioned by age, as when the first two or three letters of a line, those nearest the margin, have become obliterated.

The general aspect of a page of the Alexandrine manuscript may be better imagined from the following illustration, which is a facsimile of the original text and its divisions. The passage chosen is that in the Gospel according to St. John i. 1-7. It is one free from such defects as have just been noted, but it gives a singular example of the way in which a new section is marked by a break in the middle of a line,

117

ΕΝ ΑΡΧΗ ΝΟΛΟΓΟC ΚΑΙ ΟΛΟΓΟC
 ΠΡΟCΤΟΝ ΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΕCΗ ΝΟΛΟΓΟC·
 ΟΥΤΟC ΗΝ ΕΝ ΑΡΧΗ ΤΡΟCΤΟΝ ΕΝ
 ΠΑΝΤΑ ΔΙΑΥΤΟ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ· ΚΑΙ ΧΩ
 ΡΕΙC ΔΥΤΟ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΟΥΔ ΕΕΝ
 Ο ΕΓΟΝ ΕΝ ΕΝ ΔΥΤΩ ΩΗΗΝ·
 ΚΑΙ Η ΖΩΗ ΗΝ ΤΟ ΦΩC ΤΩΝ ΑΝΘΩΝ
 ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΦΩC ΕCΤΗC ΚΟΤΙΑ ΦΑΙ
 ΝΕΙ· ΚΑΙ ΗC ΚΟΤΙΑ ΔΥΤΟ ΟΥΚ ΑΤΕ
 ΛΑΒΕΝ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΑΝΘΩC ΑΤΕ
 CΤΑΛΑΜΕΝΟC ΤΑΡΑΘΥΟΝΟΜΑ ΔΥ
 ΤΩ ΩΝ ΑΝΗC· ΟΥΤΟC Η ΕΕΝ
 ΕΙC ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ ΝΙΝΑ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΗ
 CΗΤΕΡ ΤΟΥ ΦΩΤΟC· ΙΝΑ ΠΑΝ
 ΤΕCΤΙC ΤΕΥCΩC ΙΝΑ ΔΙΑΥΤΟΥ

CODEX 'ALEXANDRINUS.

John I, 1-7.

117

while the first letter of the following line is made large, as if it were the initial of the new section. In this case the enlarged letter does not even begin a word, but stands in the middle of one. The facsimile of the plate is from the English edition of Horne's Introduction.

The Greek of this illustration, put into corresponding form in English, would appear somewhat as follows:—

IN THE BEGINNING WAS THE WORD AND THE WORD
 WAS WITH GOD AND GOD WAS THE WORD.
 HE WAS IN THE BEGINNING WITH GOD
 ALL THINGS BY HIM WERE MADE AND WITH
 OUT HIM WAS MADE NOT ONE THING
 THAT WAS MADE IN HIM LIFE WAS
 AND THE LIFE WAS THE LIGHT OF MEN
 AND THE LIGHT IN THE DARKNESS SHI
 NETH AND THE DARKNESS IT NOT COM
 PREHENDED THERE WAS A MENSE
 N FROM GOD THEN THE NAME OF HIM
 WAS JOHN THIS ONE CAME
 FOR A WITNESS THAT HE MIGHT WITHN
 ESS CONCERNING THE LIGHT THAT AL
 L MIGHT BELIEVE THROUGH HIM

Each book is closed by ornamental designs, not very elaborate, but neatly done in the same ink as the text, with the name of the book written within the enclosed space.

As already remarked in the beginning of the chapter, the Alexandrine manuscript was the first to be carefully applied to the correction of the text of the New Testament. The first scholar who had facilities afforded him for studying the Codex critically was Patrick Young,

the librarian to King Charles I. Three separate collations of the manuscript with the received texts were made by different scholars, and then, in 1786, the text of the manuscript itself was edited and published by Woide. It was a facsimile edition, for which the types were cut with great care. This edition was, in general, very accurate, and the few errors were such as to readily betray themselves and suggest the correct reading. It is said that a comparison of Woide's edition with the manuscript itself, in the Epistle to the Galatians, for the purpose of testing the accuracy of the published copy, revealed errors only in two letters, neither of which could possibly lead to a false rendering of the words in which the mistake occurred. Such was the pioneer effort to lay before the scholars of the world the pages of the most ancient manuscripts of the Scripture, line for line, word for word, letter for letter, point for point, not one peculiarity left unmarked, in order that many minds might work upon the sacred task of proving the text already in the hands of the Christian world, and ascertaining more exactly, if possible, what were the very words of the original documents that came from the inspired writers themselves.

CHAPTER V.

THE VATICAN MANUSCRIPT.

UNTIL within comparatively few years the CODEX B, or VATICANUS, so named from the library of which it forms the chief ornament, was the most important manuscript in the possession of the Christian world. And it may even be the case that the remarkable discovery of the document to be described in the following chapter has not superseded this venerable copy in its foremost rank among the transcripts of the sacred originals.

The Vatican Library was founded by Pope Nicholas V., a great scholar and patron of learning, in the year 1448. Many previous attempts had been made to collect and preserve valuable works, but it was reserved for this energetic Pope to take the measures which should be finally successful, and which without intermission should receive the favor of succeeding pontiffs even till to-day. More than one hundred thousand volumes are there gathered, and the collection is especially rich in manuscripts, of which there are nearly twenty-five thousand. These are divided into three sections, the Latin containing more than seventeen thousand, the Greek about three thousand four hundred and fifty, and the Oriental over two thousand. Among them

are many treasures of almost inestimable price, but never from the days of Pope Nicholas himself until the present time has the Vatican Library possessed any work equal in importance to the Codex B., which is numbered 1209 in the class-catalogue.

This manuscript has probably been in the Vatican Library from the time of its establishment. It appears in the first catalogue, made in 1475. Certain characteristics of the text seem to indicate an Alexandrine origin, but this cannot be determined with accuracy. It has been thought that it may once have belonged to the library of a learned Greek ecclesiastic named Bessarion, who became estranged from the Greek church through the debates of the Councils of Ferrara and Florence, sought naturalization in Italy, and was preferred to the Cardinalate by Pope Eugenius IV., who was the immediate predecessor of the founder of the Vatican Library. His house in Rome was almost an academy, the repository of a large collection of choice manuscripts and the resort of learned men. It is hardly probable that the Codex B, however, formed a part of his collection, for at his death he bequeathed his library, with all its manuscripts, to the city of Venice, thus beginning the Library of St. Mark's in that city. Perhaps nothing more is true than that it received some corrections, and the filling up of certain *lacunæ*, out of a manuscript in the Cardinal's possession.

Codex B is perhaps a hundred years older than the Alexandrine manuscript, and belongs certainly to the fourth century. Tischendorf considered it of the same

date as the Sinaitic manuscript, to be spoken of in the next chapter, and Tregelles believed it to have been in existence as early as the Council of Nice in 325. At all events the division of the New Testament into paragraphs in a manner which became utterly disused after the Eusebian canons were introduced, about the year 340, shows that it was written prior to that date. It contains the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, of which, however, considerable portions have been lost, all the Book of Genesis to Chapter xlv. 48, and Psalms cv. to cxxxvii. inclusive; and the New Testament, with the exception of the Epistles to Philemon and Titus, the two to Timothy, that to the Hebrews after the fourteenth verse of Chapter ix, and the whole of the Revelation. These books of the New Testament are indeed found in the volume, but they do not belong to the ancient manuscript, being the product of the fifteenth century.

The whole of the text is bound in one volume in red morocco, a quarto, measuring ten and a half inches in length, ten inches in breadth, and between four and five inches in thickness. There are 759 very thin and delicate leaves of vellum, of which 146 belong to the New Testament. The text is uncial, written in three narrow columns to a page, and the characters are clear, simple, and beautiful, a little smaller than those of the Codex Alexandrinus, and a little larger than those of the manuscript of Philodemus, a treatise on music, which was the first of the Herculaneum rolls successfully opened and given to the public. In fact the Vatican manuscript is the most similar to these

rolls of Herculaneum of all of the copies of the Scriptures thus far discovered. There are no divisions between the words, but where a change from one subject to another occurs there is sometimes a space of an entire letter, sometimes of only half a letter, to mark the transition. In the original writing the initial letters were of the same size as all the others, but a later hand has written larger initials over the old and simpler characters. No punctuation appears except such as has been interpolated by later scribes, and this is rare, only four points being inserted in the first six chapters of the Gospel of Matthew. As it stands at present the text is provided with accents and marks of aspiration, which were at one time considered the work of the original writer. Indeed this question gave rise to a very strange and almost inexplicable disagreement among some of the earlier critics.* Blanchini gave a facsimile in which neither the accents nor breathings appeared, and Montfaucon strongly asserted the same thing. But Birch, in his *Prolegomena*, declared that it had both, and criticized the former editors for not marking the fact. At last Hug determined, by the use of powerful glasses, that the accents and breathings, which were really there, were in a different ink from the main body of the text and had been added by some later scribe. Titles to the various books are written above them, and subscriptions are also found, which for the most part merely repeat the titles. Sometimes words are added by later copyists, as in the case of the Epistles to the Romans,

* Davidson, *Bib. Crit.* p. 722.

where *To the Romans* is the genuine subscription, and the words *It was written from Corinth* were added.

The long passage of time faded the ink of the text, and at some early date the letters were retouched by a careful hand throughout large portions of the manuscript. This gives a very peculiar appearance to the document, and has rendered the difficulties of its critical study considerably greater. A remarkable treatment of the Epistles of Paul is to be noticed, for they are written as if they were all one book, and the notation of the sections is continuous throughout all.

This celebrated manuscript has always been considered of the highest value in the determination of the true readings of Scripture. And yet it has always been with the greatest difficulty that any scholars, except such as have had official connection with the Vatican Library, have gained access to its pages. Its first collation was made in 1669 by Bartolocci, and a very imperfect transcript of it is now in Paris. The next was by an Italian named Mico, and was executed for the assistance of Bentley about 1725, when he proposed his edition of the New Testament in Greek. Other collations appeared. No work of equal importance was attempted upon the manuscript, until Cardinal Mai undertook a facsimile edition, which was completed in 1838. The history of this edition is strange, and to some degree obscure. The purpose of the Cardinal himself seems to have been changeable, for some representations are to the effect that he de-

sired to make his work a facsimile, while others prove from his own words that it was to be only a close imitation of the text, and a work for more general use, "like the English edition of Mill." However this may be, the learned Cardinal spent his leisure hours during a period of ten years upon the work, printing five quarto volumes, and subsequently the New Testament separately in a cheap octavo form. The work was not given to the public, however, for several years. For some reason it did not receive the approval of the Roman censors of the press. It is said that when Rome was in the hands of Republicans and the Pope had fled to Gaëta, Cardinal Mai offered his work to a publisher at Berlin, who declined the proposal on account of the high price demanded by the author. The Pope returned to his capital in 1850, and the fetters of papal authority once more closed around the publication of many books useful to the world. In 1854 Cardinal Mai died. The ban was removed three years later and his work was published, but then it at once appeared doubtful whether the story of its offer to a Berlin publisher was true or not. The work was found to have been done in such a careless and incomplete fashion, and its author was known to be such a thorough and painstaking scholar that the repression of the earlier volumes printed in 1838 was suspected to have been at his own will, and many thought that the work would never have been given to the public, had the Cardinal lived.* Indeed the

* Scrivener, Plain Introduction, p. 102.

very papal authorities, by whom the publication was finally effected, were so conscious of its defects and piqued by the failure of their representative, its author, that they at once began the preparation of a new edition under the charge of Vercellone, a monk of St. Barnabas, which was completed and published in 1859. But this revised edition was still very insufficiently done, and gave little satisfaction to the greater scholars of the day.

The jealousy with which this precious manuscript is guarded by the Roman authorities is well illustrated in the attempts which were made by two of the greatest Biblical scholars to secure the privilege of studying and copying its pages. In 1845 Dr. Tregelles went to Rome with the sole design of obtaining access to the Codex, if possible. He sought the interference of Cardinal Wiseman before leaving England and received a letter by which it was hoped his task would be made the easier. After some trouble he succeeded at last in receiving permission to see the volume. Two prelates, however, were detailed to watch him, and they would not suffer him to open the volume without previously searching his pockets and taking away from him ink and paper. Any prolonged study of a passage was sufficient to call for their interference, when the book would be hurriedly taken away from him, but he succeeded in making some notes on his cuffs and finger-nails! Scrivener relates that a similar attempt was made by Dean Alford in 1861, and that Cardinal Antonelli gave him a special order to work with the

manuscript for the purpose of verifying passages; but the librarian considered this simply a permission to look at the book, but not to use it. But perhaps Tischendorf's experience was stranger than either of these. In 1843, two years previous to the effort made by Tregelles, he went to Rome, after having spent much time in working upon manuscripts at Basle and in other cities. For more than a year he was a well-known student of the ancient treasures in the libraries of Italy, at Rome and Naples, Turin, Milan, Florence, and Venice. He spent much time in the Vatican, but his requests for the most famous of all the manuscripts were denied. It was claimed by the custodians that the pope himself had forbidden access to it. Tischendorf describes his difficulties in the most interesting manner in a communication to the *Leipziger Zeitung* * of May 31, 1866. He says: "I had been commended in the most earnest manner by Guizot to the French ambassador Count Latour Maubourg; I was also favored with many letters of introduction from Prince John (of Saxony) to his personal friends of high rank, and in addition, with a very flattering note from the Archbishop Affre of Paris, directed to Gregory XVI. The latter, after a prolonged audience granted to me, took an ardent interest in my undertakings; Cardinal Mai received me with kind recognition; Cardinal Mezzofanti honored me with some Greek verses composed in my praise: but notwithstanding I had to content

* *Wissenschaftliche Beilage*, pp. 189-192.

myself with six hours † for a hasty examination of the Codex Vaticanus, and the transcription in facsimile of a few lines." This great jealousy was doubtless due in part to the fact that just at this time Cardinal Mai was most deeply engaged upon his edition of the same manuscript, of which five volumes were already completed. It was not unnatural that fear should be entertained, lest the Roman edition should be prejudiced by the publications of the German scholar, if more generous access to the original were allowed. It is evident that even a Tischendorf could do but little under the circumstances.

Twenty-three years later he made another attempt with better success. In the meantime he had discovered the Sinaitic manuscript, and it had been published in sumptuous form under the patronage of the Czar, and a copy had been presented to the Pope. The latter wrote an autograph letter to Tischendorf, "in which he expressed his highest appreciation, yes, his admiration of this publication," and added such messages of regard in a letter written by his *maestro di camera*, that the scholar deemed the opportunity too favorable to be lost; and at once asked permission by letter to publish the Codex Vaticanus, mentioning the opinion that had been expressed even by two Roman Catholic scholars, that this work should be done by his hands. He was answered so doubtfully, that he resolved to wait for no further preliminaries,

† That is, the regular hours for work in the library, from 9 to 12, A. M., for two days.

but start at once for Rome. He arrived there on the nineteenth of February, 1864.* He was kindly received by Cardinal Antonelli, and on the twenty-fourth day of February was bidden to an audience with the Pope. A long conversation ensued, and Tischendorf preferred his request to be allowed to publish the manuscript at his own expense. The Pope said: "But the Codex has already been published by Cardinal Mai." "Yes," answered the persistent and acute German, "and for that matter the New Testament twice; but these editions are intended only for the ordinary use. I, on the contrary, wish to undertake a diplomatic and palæographic edition, and indeed for the very purpose of showing that at least in all the principal respects the edition of Mai is correct, which is not universally believed." The Pope retorted: "But it must be believed without that; it is a matter of the faith (è un' affare della fede)." Tischendorf urged the fact, however, that Mai's edition did not have the full confidence of scholars, and that a publication by other than Roman hands, supporting Mai's work in all important particulars, would carry greater weight than any issued under the open patronage of His Holiness. For a time the result of the audience remained doubtful, but at last a verbal order from Cardinal Antonelli was received, by which

* This date is given in his own account in the *Leipziger Zeitung*, from which in part, this outline of his attempts is compiled. The later date 1866 is given by some writers, who have told the story of his life and labors.

permission was granted to thoroughly inspect the manuscript, only under the pledge that such a publication as had been described to the Pope should not be kept in view, since the Pope himself proposed to issue such a work through Catholic hands.* The regular working-time of the library was extended from three to six hours and the private room of Cardinal Pitra was assigned for the work. Permission was also given to disregard the many Roman feast-days and vacations, which reduce the work-days of the Vatican Library to only ninety-nine in the year. These were great concessions. But it is probable that they suffered material modification. In the Prolegomena to his *N. T. Vaticanum*, issued in 1867, Tischendorf says that he was restricted to three hours each day, and the assertion is repeated in another place. In the same paragraph of his Prolegomena (p. viii.), he says: "I took the greatest care not to lose even the smallest portion of these three hours. But I undertook to examine letter by letter the whole of the Scriptures of the New Testament from the beginning. . . . But while I was comparing the written pages with the edited copies, I

* This was the edition by Vercellone and Cozza, which finally appeared in one folio volume at Rome in 1868. A volume of the Old Testament followed in 1869, and the work was afterwards completed in three more volumes, though not until after the death of Vercellone. Tischendorf's type for the Codex Sinaiticus were sent to Rome for this edition, in return for the courtesies he had received at Vercellone's hands. This edition is known as that of Vercellone and Cozza, and copies of it may be seen in this country.

could not refrain from transcribing many whole pages." These pages were to be used, he claimed, in no way prejudicial to the agreement under which he had gained access to the document; but the action was nevertheless observed by a self-appointed spy, a Prussian Jesuit, who reported his observations to the custodians of the library and through them to the Pope. The book was immediately taken away from him. He had succeeded, however, in copying nearly the whole of the first three Gospels. "I seemed as if struck by a thunderbolt," he exclaims, "but I did not give way to despair." It was shown how the completion of his work, so far from injuring the proposed Roman edition, would be of essential profit to it, and even the editor of that work himself favored the cause of the German scholar. Tischendorf was enabled, indeed, to render valuable assistance to Vercellone, so that the latter said to him, as he was leaving Rome: "If anything is accomplished (in the new edition) we owe it to you." In spite of all objections, therefore, the precious manuscript was granted to him for a few hours more. "And so I succeeded," he says, in the article in the *Leipziger Zeitung* already mentioned, "in preparing the whole New Testament for a new, reliable edition, so as to attain every desired result with respect both to the palæographic peculiarities of the manuscript, and especially to its most surprising relations to the Codex Sinaiticus." The difficulty of the work, the wonderful dexterity with which it was accomplished, and the joy of the

scholar in his success, may be the better conceived, when it is said that the total time during which the manuscript was subject to his inspection was only forty-two hours! The collation was published, in the common Greek type, in 1867. The score of pages which were transcribed, however, are printed as in the original in three columns on a page, each column containing the same number of lines, and the lines the same number of words, as in the ancient text. This publication, achieved thus through the greatest difficulties and by excessive toil, is the most valuable reproduction of the text as it appears in the Vatican manuscript. Add to this the fact that the Vatican text is generally considered superior to any other for purposes of criticism, not even the Sinaitic Codex excepted save in the opinion of its discoverer, and the value of Tischendorf's work will readily be seen to be of the highest. It was indeed one of the three greatest achievements of his life, the discovery and publication of **N**, the deciphering of the Ephraem palimpsest, and this edition of the chief treasure of the Vatican—a group of performances quite sufficient to establish the fame of the great scholar, even apart from the many other distinguished services rendered by him to the Christian world.

In view of the great desirability of having such a manuscript freely accessible to scholars, one item of its history is of special interest. In the year 1798 Rome came into possession of the French, who established a republic, which, however, was destined to

only a brief existence. But although in 1799 the allied powers restored the Pope, in 1808 the troops of Napoleon I. again entered the city, and the Papal dominions were made an appendage of the French empire. The conqueror caused large numbers of the treasures of art and literature accumulated in the city to be transferred to Paris, where they became a part of the imperial collection. The precious Codex B was not overlooked, and for several years it was in Paris, and during that time might have been studied with comparative leisure. But unfortunately the great scholars had not yet appeared, who were afterwards the most competent men of all the world to give the manuscript the treatment it deserved. It lay in the Imperial Library uncared for except by a critic, J. L. Hug, whose abilities were not equal to the demands of the case, but who nevertheless realized its value, and printed in 1810 a paper upon the "Antiquity of the Vatican Manuscript." This essay called attention to the document, but in 1815 came Waterloo, Napoleon was finally dethroned, and the treasures he had collected again suffered change. Codex B was restored to Rome. This very year, in which the famous document once more returned to the Papal library with all its restrictions, Tregelles at the age of three years was only just learning his native English tongue, and the afterwards renowned Tischendorf was a babe of two years, the delight of his parents' home in Legenfeld, Germany.

As an example of the text of this manuscript, the

plate reproduces a portion of Mark xvi. 6-8, as it is given by Scrivener, and a translation in similarly arranged English letters is added below, as it appears upon his pages. It will readily be seen that there would be ample room for three columns of text, as it appears in the plate, upon a quarto page ten inches square, the size of the famous volume in red morocco in the Vatican Library.

THEPLACEWHERE THEY LAID
 HIM BUT GO YOUR WAY
 TELL TO THE DISCIPLES
 OF HIM AND TO PETER
 THAT HE GOETH BEFORE YOU TO
 THE GALILEE THERE HE
 SHALL MEET AS HE SAID
 TO YOU AND GO
 IN THEY FLED FROM THE
 SEPULCHRE HELD FOR
 THEM TREMOR AND MAZE
 AND TONONENO
 THING SAKE THEY WERE AF
 RAID FOR:

AFTER
 MARK.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SINAITIC MANUSCRIPT.

THE mother of Constantine the Great, the first Christian emperor of Rome, Helena, was a Christian, and in the later years of her life her whole desire was to give to the world a knowledge of the places that had been rendered sacred by the presence of the Christ, and to gain for herself the fame and rewards of a saint, by the benefits she should thus confer upon the Church. All her efforts were grouped around an attempt to find the cross upon which the Saviour had died; but there was no place mentioned in sacred history, however remotely connected with the life and work of Jesus, that did not find an interest in her mind, and to which her singular mingling of faith and superstition did not lead her steps. She was nearly eighty years old, when she claimed to have attained her greatest desire, and the flames upon the watch-towers flashed the news from Jerusalem to Constantinople, that the wood of the true cross was found. This was at about the time of the Council of Nice, or a little later. The Invention of the Cross but added ardor to her enthusiasm. She founded the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, and that of the Ascension on the top of Mt. Olivet, the only two churches which

she built, according to Eusebius. Many spots in Palestine have legends in memory of Helena, Empress and Saint, but not only within the sacred limits of that land did her devotion exercise itself, but far away, down into the deserts of the Sinaitic Peninsula, it led her restlessly onward, till she believed that she had identified many of the places spoken of in the Mosaic records. Among these places she found the Well of Jethro, and what was declared to be the very spot, where the Lord had revealed Himself to Moses in the burning bush, and upon this spot she erected a tower. Nearly two hundred years later, the Emperor Justinian built a church in this place, and a fortress for its protection. Possibly the former was built apart from the latter and higher up on the mountain-side; but there is only one group of buildings now — quite as much a fortress as a convent, though called the Convent of St. Catherine.

The reader is doubtless familiar with Mücke's picture of St. Catherine borne by four angels through the air, after her martyrdom. It is the representation of the legend, that when this niece of Constantine, so eminent for holiness, was martyred by Maximin, her body was miraculously borne from Alexandria to Mt. Sinai, where it was placed by angelic hands in a marble sarcophagus, and a monastery built over the remains. Probably the legend is only a poetical version of the translation of the relics of this saint from the one place to the other by the hermits, who had long made the caves of Sinai their retreat; but however this may be, the legend, so like the western story of

the angelic translation of the House of Loretto, gave the name to the celebrated pile of buildings erected by Justinian and still standing upon the spot.

Here through many centuries a brotherhood of monks has had its home. Here they have worshipped and studied, and a rich library has grown up in the course of the hundreds of years, in which their seclusion has enabled them to pursue the paths of sacred learning. Once the convent was the resort of many pilgrims, and for each great sect a special chapel was provided, in which each pilgrim could worship according to his custom; and probably many companies of these worshippers, from Alexandria or Syria, from Constantinople or Rome, brought offerings to the monks of manuscripts to swell the treasures of the library. Long ago these pilgrimages ceased: long ago the zeal of the brotherhood for the acquisition of sacred learning burned dim: for many years and with diminished numbers, they have lived in comparative indolence, making it their chief employment to go through with the routine regulations of the monastic worship, to which, however, they have added the entertainment of travellers, for whom nearly a hundred small, but neat, chambers are provided. It is remarkable, however, that though the present degeneracy marks a former period of greater vigor, and though unquestionably the literary treasures of the monastery prove that learning was once valued there, the time has never been when this brotherhood has given any great results of its studies to the world. Dean Stanley recalls the testimony of Burckhardt and Robinson as

to the deep conviction that the Arabs have, that the monks "command or withhold the rain from heaven, on which the whole sustenance of the Peninsula depends," and laments that the power given them by this superstition should not have been employed by the brotherhood for the advantage of the people around them, in order to raise them by Christianity to a better condition of spiritual and bodily life.* "Looking from an external point of view," he writes, "at the singular advantages enjoyed by the convent, it is hard to recall another institution, with such opportunities so signally wasted. It is a colony of Christian pastors planted amongst heathens, who wait on them for their daily bread and for their rain from heaven, and hardly a spark of civilization or of Christianity, so far as history records, has been imparted to a single tribe or family in that wide wilderness. It is a colony of Greeks, of Europeans, of ecclesiastics, in one of the most interesting and the most sacred regions of the earth; and hardly a fact, from the time of their first foundation to the present time, has been contributed by them to the geography, the geology, or the history of a country, which in all its aspects has been submitted to their investigation for thirteen centuries." The number of the monks has varied from time to time in the later years, and is given by various travellers as twenty-three, twenty, and twenty-six. With these facts borne in mind, the singular apathy in the convent with regard to some of its chief treasures

* Burckhardt, p. 567; Robinson, I., 132; Stanley, Sinai and Palestine, p. 55.

will be the better understood. It was here that the great Codex \aleph lay buried for no one can tell how many years, and where it was only saved from destruction by the providential arrival of the European scholar, of whom much has been written already in these pages.

In the course of his earlier labors upon the Greek text of the New Testament, it occurred to Tischendorf that there must be a large store of precious manuscripts "hidden in dust and darkness" in the recesses of Greek and Coptic, Syrian and Armenian monasteries, and that many documents might be found with the writings of the earlier centuries, which could possibly be transferred to Europe, or at least be copied and made a valuable part of Christian literature. As already narrated in the chapter upon the Vatican manuscript, these convictions were sufficient to start the scholar upon journeys in the year 1843, which were destined to continue with only brief intervals during almost the entire remainder of his life. It was in 1843, it will be remembered, that his first attempts to gain access to the Vatican Codex were made. In March,* 1844, he embarked at Leghorn for Egypt and Syria, arriving after a delay at Malta on the fourth of April at Alexandria; whence he proceeded to Cairo. After examining libraries in that city and looking at the Pyramids and the Sphinx, he pursued his way to four Coptic monasteries in the Libyan desert, where he

* In his "When were our Gospels written?" Tischendorf gives the date of his departure as April, but it is elsewhere and, doubtless, more accurately given as in the text.

found comparatively little to reward his efforts. Returning to Cairo he started on May 12th for Suez and the Sinaitic Peninsula. His description of these journeys is most fascinating, as it is given in his book entitled "*Reise in den Orient*," which has passed through several editions in Germany and been translated into English.

An abridgment of the account of his arrival at the convent on the 24th of May may well be given.* "I did not see the convent until we were come into its immediate proximity. It lies in a long and narrow vale between the mountain of Saint Epistemius or the Jebel ed Deir, and Horeb; but it comes into view most beautifully, with its fine garden of cypress, pomegranate, and orange trees giving a friendly greeting over the gray stone walls. The convent itself, with its walls towering to the height of forty feet, looks like a small fortress, and the want of any entrance, that can properly be called a door, strengthens the impression. The only entrance is thirty feet high, to which the visitor is pulled up by a rope. A crowd of Bedouins were already gathered under this door, and they heralded my arrival by loud cries and the discharge of their fire-arms. But before I could enter upon my rope-journey upwards, I was asked for my credentials. I presented the two letters from Suez, which were immediately drawn up into the convent." These testimonials were not readily accepted, however, for the prior was aware that Tischendorf had just paid a long visit to the mother-convent in Cairo, and he naturally

* *Reise in den Orient* (Leipzig, 1846,) I, 216 seq.

thought that if the traveller were perfectly trustworthy he would have received a letter of introduction from the superior there. Niebuhr had been denied admittance to St. Catherine's upon such grounds, and Tischendorf was in danger of similar treatment. He had in fact received a letter at Cairo, but he had examined it with characteristic care and suspected that the vellum on which it was written was of critical value, and he had therefore designedly left it in his desk. He answered the prior that he had been given an introduction, which he had *unfortunately* left behind him in Cairo, and, without giving the real reason, sought to explain the oversight. It was evident that his effort was not wholly satisfactory, but they made no further objections to hoisting him up by the rope to the lofty door of their retreat.

Tischendorf was allowed free access to the library, which was rich in manuscripts. As he examined the volumes upon the shelves, his eye fell upon a large basket full of old parchments standing upon the floor, apparently counted of no value, and waiting only for use as kindlings. Upon inquiry he found that two basketfuls of similar fragments had already been used for this purpose. Upon turning over the mouldered pieces, he found, to his great surprise, a number of leaves of the Old Testament in Greek, which bore every evidence of being more ancient than any he had ever seen. He was permitted to take a small portion of this manuscript, consisting of forty-three leaves, but no persuasions could induce the monks to part with the remainder, which had suddenly grown valuable in

their eyes now that the learned stranger was so anxious to possess them. The leaves secured were parts of 1 Chronicles and 2 Esdras, all of Nehemiah and Esther, and parts of Tobit, Jeremiah, and Lamentations, to which must be added a copy that the discoverer was enabled to make of a single page containing text from Isaiah and Jeremiah. His satisfaction had been too plainly expressed. Nothing more could be gained from the brotherhood, at least at this visit, and so Tischendorf took his departure, enjoining upon the monks to take good care of the remnant, and of any such fragments as might be found. The precious leaves in his possession were a part of the great Codex **N**, which was yet to be unknown for many years, and were deposited in the University Library, at Leipzig, with all the other documents collected in this journey. The discoverer gave the name Codex Friderico-Augustanus to these Sinaitic fragments, in acknowledgment of the patronage of the Saxon king, under which they were found.

Many years followed, filled with work of the most lasting value to students of the Bible. But through all the pressure of his studies during this time Tischendorf never forgot the treasure he had left behind him at Sinai, nor relinquished the hope of some day getting possession of it. He made attempts through an influential friend, the physician to the viceroy of Egypt, to secure the manuscript, but the only result was stated in a letter in return: "The monks of the convent have learned the value of these sheets of parchment since your departure, and will not part with

them at any price." He determined, therefore, to return to the East in order to copy the manuscript, which he knew to be of the greatest value. In February, 1853, he stood once more beneath the walls of the convent, and was welcomed by the brotherhood. But not a trace of the coveted parchments could be found. Every inquiry failed, and he was obliged to return to Europe, contenting himself with other documents of importance which he had picked up in many places by the way.

But not even now could the enthusiastic scholar rest. In the midst of the work of preparing a multitude of publications he was haunted by the thought that there might yet be some way of obtaining the rest of that ancient copy of the Old Testament that he had seen once in the convent of St. Catherine. At last, in the autumn of 1856, he applied to the Russian government for a commission to make an Eastern journey in the interests of Biblical science, thinking thereby to secure the advantages of the deep reverence felt in all the Eastern monasteries for the Russian emperor, who is considered the head of the Eastern church. After many delays the imperial approval was gained, the necessary funds were granted, and in January, 1859, Tischendorf started the third time for the convent at Sinai. During the whole interval since his first journey, and notwithstanding the interest excited by the Codex Friderico-Augustanus, he had steadfastly kept the secret of the place in which he had found it, having imparted it only to the two or three persons who could have aided him in his attempts to secure the remainder of the

document. But his second fruitless journey had filled him with fears, either that the monks had come to value the manuscript so highly as to have hidden it forever from the sight of strangers, or else that they had already parted with it for some immense sum, or at at the command of some ecclesiastical superior. He arrived in Alexandria on the sixteenth of January. In his first journey he had gone by camel from Alexandria to Suez in five days, now he went the same distance in about five hours by rail. But now, as before, the rest of the way must be traversed with camels, and on the thirty-first of January, 1859, he once more entered the convent. He was welcomed most heartily. The familiar rooms containing the library were thrown open to him; and the custodian of the books, Cyril of Athos, showed him every courtesy. Many valuable manuscripts were placed in his hands, liturgies and lectionaries and copies of Scriptures, but nowhere was the one volume he desired; and after a stay of a few days he gave up all hope of success. He told his Bedouins on the fourth of February to be ready to start for Cairo on the seventh, and on the afternoon of the same day he took a walk with the steward of the convent, returning about sunset. They had talked of their studies, and upon their return the steward invited him to take supper with him in his own cell. Continuing the conversation, the steward said: "I, too, have been reading the Septuagint," and as he spoke he brought a bulky volume wrapped in a red cloth from the corner of the room and laid it in Tischendorf's hands. One glance was sufficient. The

scholar knew that the wish of years was attained. But how much more than had been comprised in that wish was now found he hardly dared to believe, as his hands turned the precious leaves. Here were, indeed, the very fragments which he had taken from the wastebasket fifteen years before, but also, to his greatest surprise and joy, other parts of the Old Testament, the whole of the New Testament, the Epistle of Barnabas, and a part of the Shepherd of Hermas, — books, which in some localities had once been considered canonical, and had therefore been included in this volume of the New Testament.

That night determined the principal labors of Tischendorf's life for the next fourteen years. Concealing his joy as best he could, he asked carelessly if he might take the volume to his own room to examine it a little more leisurely. Once there, he fairly danced for joy. "I knew," he says,* "that I held in my hand the most precious Biblical treasure in existence — a document whose age and importance exceeded that of all the manuscripts I had ever examined during twenty years' study of the subject. I cannot now, I confess, recall all the emotions which I felt in that exciting moment, with such a diamond in my possession." "It seemed a wickedness to sleep," he says elsewhere. All through that night in the cold cell and by the dim light of a candle, he toiled upon a transcription of the Epistle of Barnabas, the original

* "When were our Gospels written?" Translation published by the Religious Tract Society of London, and reprinted by the American Tract Society.

Greek of which had never been discovered before, and which was known only through a Latin translation.

Early the next morning Tischendorf applied to the steward for permission to take the manuscript to Cairo that it might be copied in full. But it exceeded the steward's authority to grant permission. Unfortunately the prior had left two days previous for Cairo, intending to proceed to Constantinople to take part in the election of a new archbishop. Tischendorf at once set out to catch him. He left the monastery on the seventh, as had been previously arranged. The Russian flag was hoisted, and a salute was fired as he rode away. He found the prior in Cairo, who readily acceded to the proposal, and dispatched a Bedouin upon a swift dromedary to bring the manuscript at once to the city, and nine days later the scholar had the precious book once more before him. It was agreed that Tischendorf should be allowed sets of eight leaves at a time, these quaternions, as they were called, making up the separate parts of the manuscript, in a manner similar to the folds of a modern book, which are called signatures by the printers. And thus the copy was obtained, two German friends assisting in the task of transcribing the hundred and ten thousand lines, and Tischendorf revising and correcting the sheets with a constant study of the original.

But, meanwhile, the desire was growing to possess the original itself, or to secure it for such future study as could only be accomplished through the passage of years. He ventured to suggest that it should be presented by the monastery to the Emperor of Russia as

the head of the Greek Church. The prior received the proposal with favor, but was unable to grant the request without permission from the archbishop, whose election had just been accomplished. He had not been consecrated, however, and the Patriarch of Jerusalem raised such a strong opposition to him that the ceremony was long delayed. At last Tischendorf himself was requested to interfere in the ecclesiastical dispute, and use his influence in favor of the party of his friends of the monastery. He did so, and when finally the victory was gained, he carried the news of their success to Cairo, and again preferred his request, now emphasized by the support of the Russian ambassador to Turkey. The next day "I received from them," he says, "under the form of a loan, the Sinaitic Bible, to carry it to St. Petersburg, and there to have it copied as accurately as possible." This was the attainment of his highest wishes, and on the nineteenth of November in the same year he presented the priceless volume, with many other treasures, to the Emperor Alexander II.

Now followed the labor of preparing an edition of the codex in facsimile. The work was accomplished in 1862, in four folio volumes,* and by the munificence of the emperor, copies were sent to the great institutions and libraries throughout the world. Honors poured in upon the great scholar, whose sagacity and perseverance had accomplished the result, and whose life-work had now achieved its greatest triumph.

* Several libraries in this country possess copies of this Codex, as well as of Vercellone's facsimile of the Vatican manuscript.

One unfortunate circumstance, however, should be recorded in candor. It will be remembered that Tischendorf's own words quoted above are: "I received the Sinaitic Bible *under the form of a loan* to carry it to St. Petersburg." The *loan* has never been cancelled by the return of the volume. Whether the eminent discoverer did not fully understand that the loan was real, and not merely formal, or whether the Imperial government claims the authority to dispose of the manuscript, can hardly be determined perhaps under the present data for our knowledge. Certain it is, however, that the monks at Sinai feel deeply injured that their precious manuscript seems lost to them forever. It is true the Russian government made them the offer of liberal compensation, which they refused, as undoubtedly they had a right to do. But when they declined to part thus with their rightly considered priceless book, no offer of its return was made. The visitor* to-day at the Convent of St. Catherine finds the brotherhood sorely grieved over what they deem a decided breach of faith.

The Sinaitic Codex, Ⲛ (Aleph), has three hundred and forty-six and a half leaves, thirteen and a half inches wide by nearly fifteen inches long. Of these, one hundred and ninety-nine leaves contain portions of the Old Testament, and it will be remembered that the parts previously discovered and deposited at Leipzig were also of the Old Testament. The poetical portions are written stichometrically in two columns upon a page, but the other pages have four columns. It is of

* Compare Schaff's "Through Bible Lands."

singular interest that two small fragments of manuscript, one a part of a single leaf discovered by Tischendorf in 1853, and the other portions of two leaves found by Archbishop Porfiri in the binding of other books, have been identified as belonging to this codex, adding thus a few verses to the Old Testament. The New Testament contains, as already stated, the canonical books, with the addition of the Epistle of Barnabas and a part of the Shepherd of Hermas. It is remarked that between these two books six leaves seem to have fallen out, upon which possibly some apocryphal text may have been written.* The whole number of leaves extant is one hundred and forty-seven and a half. The text is written upon very fine parchment, — Tischendorf says the skins of young antelopes, — without accents or breathings, with no separation of words and with no large initials. The Ammonian sections and Eusebian canons are marked in the margins. Tischendorf believes that he has detected the corrections of at least ten different revisers, extending over a period ending in the twelfth century. The age of the manuscript is undoubtedly that of the fourth century. It ranks with the Vatican Codex for purposes of textual criticism, while naturally the completeness of the New Testament gives it an especial value. Altogether the discovery and collation of this ancient volume is to be considered as the greatest contribution to Biblical criticism of modern times, and the aid which it will always render to the determination and defense of Christian truth is beyond value.

* Bleek, *Einleitung*, p. 707.

The account of this manuscript should not close without the mention of certain hostilities which it has suffered, adding much to the labors of its discoverer and editor, who was obliged thus to become also its defender. The strangest of these attacks came from the impostor previously referred to in these pages (55 and 56), Constantine Simonides. Tischendorf had defeated his schemes in 1856, and now, with peculiar craft, he sought to take his revenge. Falling back upon his now well-known skill in preparing forgeries, he claimed at once upon the appearance of the facsimiles of the Sinaitic Codex, *that he had written the whole document himself!* He said that he had been employed by his uncle, who was at the head of a monastery on Mount Athos, to make in manuscript a copy of the complete Bible, to be presented to the Russian Emperor Nicholas. He claimed that it was the intention to add the writings of all the Apostolic Fathers to the volume, but while engaged upon the Shepherd of Hermas his uncle died, and the work was stopped. The volume was presented by him later to Constantius, formerly Patriarch of Constantinople and Archbishop of Sinai, who recognized the favor by sending to Simonides twenty-five thousand piastres, or not far from \$1,200. The Patriarch presented the book to the Convent of St. Catherine, where Simonides had seen it twice, in 1844 and 1852. Such was the wonderful story, believed by many, recognized by the more learned as the boldest of all Simonides's lies, and calling at once for refutation. Naturally, the defeat of such imposture was easy. The monks at

Sinai had never seen Simonides, and asserted that the manuscript had been there from the earliest times. Moreover, according to the authority of Simonides himself, he could have been only a youth of fifteen in 1839, the date he assigned to the beginning of his task; besides which, it was pointed out that, in order to have finished the work at the time named, "he must have written at least twenty thousand large and separate uncial letters every day!"* Simonides admitted the fact, and offered to do the work again for the price of \$50,000! Altogether his story was too great to be believed, and such expositions of its improbability were readily received. The other attacks were of a different character and somewhat harder to refute. From Russian sources came the charge that the newly discovered work was guilty of heresy in some of its parts, and from England came doubts of a serious character, though from a writer who preferred to remain anonymous. Tischendorf replied with sharp pamphlets in 1863, the first entitled "The Assaults upon the Sinai-Bible," and the second "The Weapons of Darkness against the Sinai-Bible," establishing beyond controversy the genuineness and value of the manuscript.

So did this priceless treasure come forth from the obscurity of ages into the light of Christian scholarship, henceforth to be regarded by Christians as sharing with the Vatican Manuscript the first place in the ranks of all the witnesses to the original text of the Scriptures.

* Scrivener, *Six Lectures*, p. 38.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PALIMPSESTS.

IN the Greek department of the National Library at Paris is an ancient document marked No. 9, and it has become famous as CODEX C, or the CODEX of EPHRAEM the Syrian. In the year 1535 a scholar died in Rome named Andreas Johannes Lascaris, who had devoted much toil to the collection of valuable manuscripts in the East. Among his discoveries was this old volume, containing sermons and other writings by Ephraem of Syria. From the collection of this John Lascar, the book passed into the hands of Cardinal Nicola Ridolfi of Florence, and upon the death of the latter his whole library was bought by Pietro Strozzi. From him the manuscript came into the possession of the Medicis; and Catherine de Medici, when she left Italy for France, carried with her these sermons of Ephraem, as one of the books from which to feed her spiritual life. Probably from her hands it came into the library, where it now remains. For a long time there was no suspicion that the pages contained any treasure greater than the works of the Syrian preacher and saint; but at last, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, a careful reader, named Peter Allix, discerned traces of another text beneath that of Ephraem. It was very

faint, in many places wholly indistinguishable, and of course, where it could be seen it was much obscured by the later writing ; but close investigation proved it to be really a separate text, and the manuscript was fully recognized as a palimpsest.

The attention of scholars was at once directed to the work of deciphering the original writing, which Allix had found to be portions of the Scripture. The difficulty attending the task was great, and scholarship had not yet advanced to the degree of skill necessary for the work. Several passages were extracted, and applied to the reprint of Mill's Greek Testament, which appeared in 1710 ; and this was the first use of the manuscript in the correction of the text of Scripture. The critic Wetstein bestowed much labor upon the elucidation of the older writing and upon conference with the great English scholar, Bentley, was sent by him to Paris for the express purpose of studying the manuscript with reference to its use in the edition of the New Testament which Bentley proposed to publish. This collation by Wetstein, a copy of which was sent to Bentley according to the agreement, while the collator preserved a copy for himself, was of use thirty-five years afterward, when Wetstein himself published a Greek Testament. With all his success, however, this early investigator found the greatest difficulty in reading the larger part of what he secured of the original, and in a multitude of places it was absolutely impossible to discern the writing. A long interval followed in which no attempt was made to overcome these immense obstacles. But in 1834

the custodian of the manuscripts in the Royal Library was induced to allow a chemical infusion to be applied, in the hope that the ancient characters might be more fully brought out. This was done, and what was known as the Giobertine tincture was used upon about one hundred leaves of the book. The process was partially successful, the letters appeared indeed with more distinctness, but the pages were so spotted and stained that many have doubted whether the experiment should have been made. The critic Fleck was enabled to collate many pages hitherto undecipherable, but his work, even after the chemical preparation of the manuscript, was still very incomplete.

Lachmann, in 1830, wrote that, if any Parisian scholar had the courage for the task, he could secure immortal fame by publishing the text of this codex. Capperonier, a former head of the library, had said that no mortal could read the words of the New Testament written beneath the text of Ephraem. In 1840, Tischendorf went to Paris and applied himself to the work. From December of that year until September of 1841, he was closely engaged in deciphering the hidden text and making it ready for publication. Tregelles's description * of his success in the edition, which was published in 1843, is as follows: "The printed edition appeared in 1842 [?], and then this manuscript

* In Horne's Introduction, IV. 167. It will be noted that the date in the text differs from that of the quotation. The latter is undoubtedly an oversight, but it is preserved in the quotation in fidelity to the great editor's text, though the author of the present work has ventured to indicate in brackets its questionable character.

might be said to be for the first time available for critical purposes. Tischendorf's edition follows the manuscript page for page and line for line; it is printed in capital letters, although not in any way imitating the form of those in the manuscript itself. One page in facsimile is subjoined to the volume; it exhibits very clearly the appearance of the older and the later writing as they now are; even the color is successfully imitated; the many stains on the vellum are alone omitted. The only reason that any could wish that they had been preserved in the facsimile is that then the pains which Tischendorf took would be more fully appreciated." The great scholar had indeed been most successful in overcoming the prodigious difficulties of his task. He noted even the work of revisers of the manuscript, declaring that no less than four hands had been employed upon the ancient text, and indicating the very few places in which the fourth writer had added his corrections. Had Tischendorf done no other work, had he contributed nothing else to the science to which he devoted his life, his marvellous success here would have entitled him to reverential fame.

The palimpsest of Ephraem was unquestionably a document of date as early as the fifth century. The erasure of the older writing and the formation of the new volume took place in the twelfth century. The leaves were taken promiscuously, without the slightest regard to their former order, and were bound together, many of them upside down, so that the restored text is in the greatest confusion. Two hundred and nine

leaves make up the book as it now exists, one hundred and forty-five of which belong to the New Testament. More than one-third of the original copy of the New Testament portion is wholly wanting. Thirty-seven chapters of the Gospels, ten of the Acts, forty-two of the Epistles, and eight of the Revelation are gone. The whole of the second Epistle of St. John, and the whole of the second Epistle of St. Paul to the Thessalonians, are among the missing parts. Some sectional divisions appear, but there are no spaces between the words; and every mark of antiquity assigns a very high value to the codex. The text, instead of standing in more than one column on a page, as in the Alexandrine and Vatican and other ancient manuscripts, is in only one column, a fashion of writing that would indicate a later date were it not for the other indubitable signs of antiquity. The order of the books is the same as in Codex A, where the General Epistles come after the Acts; then the Epistles of St. Paul, and the Pastoral Epistles preceding the Revelation. The Ammonian sections are found marked in the margins of the Gospels, but the Eusebian canons do not accompany them. Short and simple titles and subscriptions are also used in the Gospels.

The comparative value of the Codex of Ephraem gives it a place with the first manuscripts in importance in Biblical studies. The Codex Vaticanus, the Codex Sinaiticus, and in general, the Codex Alexandrinus stand before it in value, but in some respects it is superior to the last, especially in the text of the Gospels. The manuscript is written with great ac-

curacy in almost all its parts that are preserved, the mistakes being the interchange of vowels of similar sound, and such literal errors as readily betray themselves and suggest their own correction. There is one remarkable exception, however, and it is the only one of the kind in the whole codex. In the Revelation the copyist omitted a passage. The tired eye may have passed mechanically from one line to another too far away, or some interruption may have relaxed the vigilance and suffered the error to creep in. The first five lines upon a page (298) are a correct transcript of the ninth and tenth verses of the tenth chapter, but then in the sixth line there is a sudden change to the last verse of chapter seven; the text then runs smoothly to the end of the fourth verse of the eighth chapter, when there is again a sudden transition to the middle of the third verse of the eleventh chapter. A translation of the confused passage as it stands may easily be compared with the version of King James, though the order of the words is here somewhat different for the sake of preserving the arrangement of the original. It should be remembered that in the manuscript the words have no spaces between them, and they are accordingly printed in the same way in the following lines, without any attempt, however to imitate the uncial form.

*"And it was in my mouth as honey sweet and when I tear from
their eyes and when he had opened these seven seals there came si-
lence in heaven half an hour and I saw these seven angels who stood
before God and there was given to them seven trumpets and a-
nother angel came and stood at the altar having a golden cense*

ΟΥΚ ΕΙΣΤΗΝ ΤΗ ΣΑΛΗΘΕΙ ΤΩ
 ΡΟΥ ΤΗΝ ΤΑΝΘΩΤΕΩΝ
 ΚΑΙ ΟΜΟΛΟΓΟΥ ΜΕΝΩ ΣΜΕΓΑΛΕ
 ΕΑΤΗΡΟΝ ΤΩ ΕΦ' ΑΝΕΡΩΘΗΕΝ

THE EPHRAEM PAI
Parts of 1 Timothy,

το μαλ' οἱ δα οἱ τι μελ' αἰ
ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΤΟΤΗΣ ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΣ ΜΥ
ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΝΕΙΤΑΝ.

PALIMPSEST.

ly, III, 15, 16.

randtherewasgiventohimmuchincensethatheshouldgiveto theprayersofallthesaintsuponthegoldenaltarbeforethethroneandwentupthesmokeoftheincensetotheprayersofthesaintsfromthehandoftheangelbefore Godathousandtwohundredandsixtyclothedinsackcloth,"etc.

Perhaps the copyist was drowsy, and as he dozed some errant breeze came in at the open lattice and blew back the page to the seventh chapter, and when the writer, half ashamed of his negligence, copied a few words from the pages now opened before him and dozed again, the same mischievous breath whirled the leaves over to the eleventh chapter, touched the cheek of the sleeper to rouse him to his task, and then gaily leaped forth to a wild course again over the hills. Whatever may have been the cause of the confusion, it will serve as an excellent example of the errors to which the most careful transcribers were liable, making it a wonder that more instances of the kind are not found in their writings.

Among all the uncial manuscripts there are only eight or ten palimpsests, and the number is smaller still among the cursives. The Codex C is by far the most valuable of them all. The adjoined plate gives a reproduction of portions of 1 Timothy iii. 15 and 16. It will be seen that the writing in the fainter ink extends in unbroken lines quite across the page, and this is the original text. The bolder writing, divided into two columns, is the text of Ephraem.

In the seventeenth century in England a spirited controversy arose, having for its centre the seven extant epistles of Ignatius, together with five that were

falsely ascribed to him. It does not interest us now to enter into the nature of this dispute, and it is only mentioned to explain the circumstance, that an anxious search was instituted at this time for new literary relics of Ignatius, which was continued with unflagging zeal over a period of many years. Archbishop Usher was particularly interested, and through his influence all the sea-captains sailing to the East were commanded to bring home at least one manuscript to swell the resources of English learning. Nothing appeared, however, to assist in the Ignatian controversy. The larger number of books brought home were copies of the Koran, which it was easy for the sea-captains to obtain in the very ports to which they sailed, and naturally, since they could thus fulfil the requirement without trouble, they made few attempts to penetrate the libraries and secret alcoves, where the most valuable documents were likely to be stored. Letters were sent to the principal Greek ecclesiastics throughout the East, in the hope that they might aid in the search, but only the most meagre success attended these efforts. It was thought that one locality in particular might furnish the desired documents. Upon the left bank of the Nile, west of the Delta, was a valley, which from a very early period had been the resort of recluses, drawn thither, it is said, by some superstitious idea, that their holiness could be promoted by ablutions in the water of the adjacent lakes, which was strongly impregnated with nitre, or a substance called natron, which was believed to be the nitre spoken of by the prophet Jeremiah (ii. 22). The statement is

made, that there were once no less than three hundred and sixty monasteries grouped in this one locality, which took the name Nitria from the character of the lakes. In the course of time, a common danger was the occasion for surrounding the remaining convents with a kind of fortification, which at once afforded protection to all the monks and drew them into closer bonds of brotherhood. It was believed in Europe that this fortified retreat must have been made the receptacle of many valuable documents. Rev. Robert Huntington visited the place in 1679, but could not gain access to the libraries. The monks could understand him only with difficulty. They were suspicious and reticent. He saw enough, however, to justify his belief, that the store of literary treasures must be rich, and he returned to England to report the result of his investigations. Several years later, another attempt was made by the Pope, Clement XI., who sent a native Syrian to the desert. The monks received him more cordially, allowed him to see a sort of cellar, which was full of manuscripts that they themselves were unable to read, and sold him forty of them, which he took to Rome; there unfortunately they were deposited in the Vatican Library, a place almost as inaccessible to scholars as the Nitrian monasteries themselves. Other attempts followed from time to time, in hope of further discoveries, but as in the case of the famous Sinaitic manuscript, the persistent curiosity of the Europeans concerning these neglected documents at Nitria raised their value in the eyes of the monks, and they refused to part with their treas-

ures. In 1838, however, Archdeacon Tattam, of England, set out for Egypt, and succeeded in persuading the Nitrian monks to sell him such books as he might desire, provided they did not have any curses written in them such as we have described upon page 30, forbidding any one to dispose of them. They took him to a vaulted room, the floor of which was heaped with books and fragments, gave him a stick with which to stir them up, and a candle to dissipate a little the gloom of the windowless chamber, and left him to study, and select what he would. Similar advantages were granted him at other monasteries, and he returned to England richly laden with spoils. Forty of these manuscripts, from the monastery of Santa Maria Deipara, were deposited in the British Museum about the year 1847. Three of the much desired letters of Ignatius had been found, but of far more value than these were other documents, two of which are to be specially mentioned, one of them a palimpsest to be described in this chapter, and the other a precious copy of a very ancient Syriac version of the Gospels to be described upon a future page. In the British Museum the collection was not only accessible to scholars, but it was in the constant charge of an officer of the library, whose own learning enabled him to appreciate the value of the documents, and led him to a thorough investigation of their contents. This discerning scholar was the Rev. William Cureton. As he was examining one of the fragments, he found reason to suspect that the document had been twice writ-

ten, though the traces of the older text were so very faint as almost to defy any attempt to decipher them. But it was fully determined, that the manuscript was a very valuable palimpsest worthy of the highest esteem as one of the most precious treasures of Christendom.

It was found that two ancient works had been destroyed for the sake of providing vellum for the later treatise, which was a work of Severus of Antioch against Grammaticus. The older books thus taken had contained in one instance portions of Homer's Iliad with a fragment of Euclid, and in the other a part of the Gospel of St. Luke. The leaves containing the Scripture were deciphered by Tregelles in 1854 and by Tischendorf in 1855, and at the suggestion of the latter the document was called *Codex R*. An index of ancient chapters occupied two leaves, and the remainder contained portions of most of the chapters of St. Luke, though the *lacunæ* are very many and much to be regretted. Canon Cureton, the accomplished scholar in charge of the collection, published the fragments of Homer from this manuscript in 1851; and seven years later, in 1858, he issued the portions of the New Testament, with a translation and very valuable notes.

The text of the preserved passages is extremely faint, so that it can be read only in the clearest light and by the most skilled eye. As it is seen in the Museum, only a fair day and unclouded sky will bring out the letters with sufficient distinctness to make

them at all legible. Add to this, that the later text, written over the ancient letters, is in characters very black and broad and completely covering the pages, and the difficulty of deciphering the first writing may be conceived. It is said that in reading it a powerful lens was necessary, and that in certain parts "it was difficult to trace any of the erased letters, except by holding the leaf to the light and catching the traces of the strokes by which the vellum had been scraped *rather thinner* by the style." The difficulties were so great that it was only after continuous study for many weeks that the task was accomplished, and with such success that every leaf but one was fully transcribed with the exception of an occasional letter, and, rarely, a word which defied identification. The manuscript is valuable, being of a very early date.

In the same group of Syriac manuscripts in the British Museum are a few leaves, containing a very small part of St. John's Gospel, of a great antiquity. The letters resemble closely the Vatican manuscript, and the vellum, which is extremely thin and fine, has been used more than once since the original writing was placed upon it. It is one of the few instances of the double palimpsest.

The only other rescript of which the details will be given is that known by the letter Z, and called, otherwise, the CODEX DUBLINENSIS. It is deposited in the library of Trinity College, at Dublin, whence it takes its name. One of the Fellows of this institution, Dr. Barrett, was one day examining this manuscript, when

he thought he discerned other letters under the Greek text, which he was reading. A more careful inspection confirmed the discovery, and he at once set himself to work to decipher the ancient writing. It was found to consist of a part of the Prophecy of Isaiah, certain orations of Gregory of Nazianzum, and a large portion of St. Matthew's Gospel. Dr. Barrett paid special attention to the leaves containing the New Testament, and in 1801 he published the results of his labors. This publication was always felt to be far from satisfactory, however, and in 1853 the great Tregelles applied himself to the work of collating the manuscript. It was with much hesitation that the determination was reached to submit the leaves to the chemical process which had been applied to the Codex of Ephraem with such partial success, but at last the experiment was attempted, and this time with nothing but the happiest results. The vellum was not at all defaced by the process, while, with hardly the exception of a letter, all the older text was made perfectly legible. The value of this reproduction will be manifest when it is said that the original document is undoubtedly no later than the sixth century. A literal translation of the nineteenth and twentieth verses of the first chapter of St. Matthew, given with an example of the original Greek in Horne's Introduction, is herewith appended, since it shows very plainly two or three instances of contraction common to these ancient writings, as well as being curious from the enlargement of the last letters of the name Joseph, which, however, are the equivalent of only one character in the Greek:—

NOWTHEBIRTHOFJSCHTTH
 USWAS·BEINGESPOUS
 EDHISMOTHER
 MARYTOJOSEPHBEFORE
 THEYCAMETOGETHERSHEWAS
 FOUNDWITHCHILD
 BYTHEHOLYSPT·
JOSEPHTHENHERHUSBAND
 BEINGAJUSTMANANDNOTWILL...
 TOMAKEHERAPUBLICEXAMPLE
 WASMINDEDPRIVILYTOPUT
 HERAWAY.

Other palimpsests of special value are the **Codex GUELPHERBYTANUS A** and the **Codex GUELPHERBYTANUS B**, known respectively by the capitals **P** and **Q**. They were both found, with other ancient leaves, in a volume known as the **Codex Carolinus**. **P** consists of forty-three leaves, containing parts of the four Gospels, some portions of which, however, are entirely illegible, and it belongs to the sixth century. **Q** consists of only thirteen leaves, which have parts of twelve chapters of St. Luke and of two chapters of St. John. It has been assigned to the fifth century.

The palimpsests are few, as already remarked, and those that could find mention in these pages have thus been grouped together, as representing one kind of manuscripts and the difficulties incident to their elucidation. Had the order of value of the codices been observed, **Codex C** should have been followed immediately by the manuscript first mentioned in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VIII.

OTHER UNCIALS, FRAGMENTS, AND CURSIVES.

CODEx D of the Gospels is also known by the name of its discoverer Beza; and as the Vatican manuscript is so called because it is preëminent among all the manuscripts of the Vatican Library, this codex is given a third name, CODEx CANTABRIGIENSIS, because it is the greatest treasure of the University of Cambridge. In the troublous times in France during the religious wars, which began about the year 1562, and in which so many Protestants were destined to perish, Theodore Beza, preacher, professor, reformer, found opportunity to enrich the church by Biblical studies, which will make his name famous so long as men shall read the word of God. Early in his career he was banished with other Protestants from France, his native country, and in Geneva found at the same time a refuge and a place in which to labor for the truth. In the year 1562, he was enabled to return to Paris as chaplain to the Prince of Condé and afterward to Coligni, and it was in this year of his return to France that he discovered the manuscript of so much importance, which bears his name. He says that he found it at Lyons in a monastery dedicated to St.

Irenaeus, but whether it came into his possession by gift, or purchase, has never been fully known. It has been conjectured with some degree of probability, that it was taken by violence from the monastery, doubtless by some other hand than Beza's, and thus came indirectly into his possession. Certain it is that in this very year, which saw the first violent outbreak of the religious wars, the Huguenots, or rather Francis de Beaumont, Baron of Adrets, who had attached himself to the Huguenot party, sacked the great city of Lyons and pillaged the monastery. What is more likely than that some soldier of the better sort, or possibly, Adrets "the Infamous" himself, may have recognized this book as of possible value, and secured it as a gift to the revered scholar then following the fortunes of the court of Condé? At all events it is most probable that this manuscript, like the Sinaitic Codex, though from another cause, came near perishing in the flames. In the absence of certain information upon these points of exceeding interest, it will suffice to mark how in the midst of Beza's absorbing occupations the instinct of the scholar at once perceived the value of the volume. When it was once securely in his possession he gave himself to its inspection with enthusiasm. He collated portions of it for his own private use, as appears from his edition of the Greek of the New Testament, and in 1581 he sent it as a gift to the University of Cambridge, where it is now treasured and may be seen in its glass case in the New Library.

Codex Bezae is certainly as old as the sixth century,

and it may belong to the fifth, and as such it takes rank with the few leading uncials, which are of most value in determining the original text of the Scriptures. It is a large quarto volume, of four hundred and fifteen leaves, now very elegantly bound. The paging shows that originally there were at least five hundred and twelve leaves; nine of the leaves that are preserved are not of the original volume, and cannot be of a date earlier than the tenth century.

The manuscript contains the Gospels and the Acts, with considerable omissions, and many of the leaves are so mutilated as to injure the text of the remaining portions. The Greek is written in square, upright uncials in a single column upon the left-hand page, as the book lies open before the reader, and a Latin translation by the same hand which wrote the Greek occupies the right-hand page. The Latin is of the Old Latin version, earlier than that of Jerome. There are no spaces between the words, no accents, or marks of breathing, though punctuation is attempted in many places by a simple dot, appearing more frequently in the Latin than in the Greek. The work is arranged stichometrically, and the lines are therefore of unequal length. In the order of the books, the Gospel of St. John comes between those of Sts. Matthew and Luke, while St. Mark's Gospel precedes the Acts. It is usual in manuscripts written stichometrically for a summary of the stichoi to be given at the close of the work, but in this manuscript it is wanting. The Ammonian sections appear, but there is no reference to the canons of Eusebius. The margins of the pages

are marked frequently with titles and notes, but none of these are by the writer of the original text.

Scholars are very generally agreed in assigning Codex D to an Alexandrian source, though some think that the Latin accompaniment indicates an origin somewhere in the west of Europe.* It is evident from the text itself that the transcriber was not an adept in the use either of the Greek or Latin, and that his work was performed only in a mechanical fashion, without sufficient knowledge to preserve his hand from many great mistakes. Dr. Scrivener says that "nothing is more likely, than that this most venerable document was a native of the country in which it was found the style and diction are exactly suitable to a province like Gaul, where the classical language was fast breaking up into the vernacular dialect from which the modern French derives its origin, to whose usage indeed a few of its words and phrases approximate in a manner which cannot be accidental."

There is a singular instance in this manuscript of the ways in which a slight peculiarity in the text may sometimes serve to fix a date or identify the text, which would otherwise be difficult or impossible. The critic Wetstein, and after him several others, argued

* Bleek asserts of these Greek-Latin codices, that they must be assigned in nearly all cases to a western origin, for it was only in the West that the Latin language prevailed, but that an eastern Greek text was probably the basis of all such translations (Einleitung, § 270). Both the Latin and Greek texts may have been prepared in Egypt with their use by the western churches in view.

from a single word occurring in St. John's Gospel (xxi. 22) that this codex can be traced farther back in history than the date at which it was brought to light at Lyons. In the verse indicated the word *thus* is written, so that the verse reads: "If I will that he tarry thus till I come, what is that to thee? Follow thou me." Now in the Latin Vulgate a reading appears by the addition of a single letter, which seems to authorize the tradition of which the Gospel speaks,—that St. John was not to die. By the addition of *c* to the word *si*, *si volo*, if I will, becomes *sic volo*, thus I will. Now Codex D is the only manuscript known which even to this extent agrees with the Vulgate. But it is a fact of history that in the year 1546, at the Council of Trent, an ecclesiastic named William a Prato, the Bishop of Clermont in Auvergne, exhibited to the council a Greek codex of very early date, which confirmed the translation in the Latin Vulgate. A natural inference is that William a Prato brought the manuscript to Trent from his own diocese, or from some library in the vicinity. Add to this that Henry Stephens collated a manuscript, afterwards known as β' , at about this time (1547) "in Italy," for the assistance of his father, Robert Stephens, who was preparing an edition of the Greek Testament published in 1550. The readings thus extracted from β' are identical in an extraordinary number of places with those of the Codex Bezae, leaving the almost inevitable conclusion that β' was identical with D. These circumstances make it most probable that Beza's manuscript had not been so long in the monastery at

Lyons as he thought it had when he wrote the note which is still to be seen in the volume at Cambridge, and which intimates that it had long been a treasure, though dust-covered and almost forgotten, of the library where it was found. Possibly Stephens may have seen it in Lyons, and his father's statement that it was studied "in Italy" may be a mistake; but it is far more likely that the document was really seen by the younger Stephens in Italy, as recorded, and that the manuscript was changing possessors during these years. If β' , and the copy shown at the Council of Trent, and D, were really one and the same document, we have these facts: Clermont in Auvergne was in France, some distance to the west of Lyons; Trent was in the Tyrol. Any place in the extreme north of Italy may serve for Stephens's description. In 1546 the manuscript was in the hands of the bishop of Clermont at Trent; the next year Stephens saw it in Italy; fifteen years afterward it is found in Lyons. What more natural than that it originated, as suggested, somewhere among the churches of Southern France; came into the possession of the bishop of Clermont; was carried by him, as a document curious and theologically useful, to Trent; thence, when the council divided, in March of 1547, and thirty-eight of the fifty-six bishops present adjourned to Bologna in the north of Italy, it went with them, where it may have met the eye of Stephens; and thence, sooner or later, returned to its native regions, and found place in the celebrated monastery at Lyons? But whatever may be the truth, the whole case is traced back to the

one word *thus* in St. John's Gospel, together with the coincidences of reading between β' and D, for the second part of the chain of inferences. Truly it may sometimes be said of the science of Biblical criticism: "How great a matter a little fire kindleth!"

The text of this manuscript has several striking peculiarities. As already said, the mistakes are so numerous, and of such a character, as to prove the writer to be ill acquainted with the languages used. There are also a very large number of interpolations, with glosses more frequent than in any other of the important codices. The Latin is, moreover, so exactly moulded to the sense of the Greek text, that even the laws of grammar are neglected in the desire to have the two columns coincide; as Hug says in his Introduction, this has been done "with childish scrupulosity."

It is a matter of special interest that this manuscript is the oldest which contains the passage in the eighth chapter of St. John's Gospel relating the story of the woman taken in adultery. Later copies contain the narrative, but Codex D differs even from these in the form in which it appears. From its entire absence in many of the most valuable codices, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles, all omit it from their editions, and it is probable that where it is found it was introduced on account of its transmission through Papias and Eusebius. But that it appears in this codex is evidence of an extremely early origin for the story and its incorporation in the Gospel, whether it may have been written by the inspired author or not. In

the Acts of the Apostles there are many places where the text differs materially in form from that of other manuscripts, and the additions, though certainly unauthentic, are often full of interest. Dr. Scrivener mentions an instance in Luke's Gospel with circumstances of which he was a witness, in the following words:—

“The most remarkable passage in this manuscript, in regard to which it stands quite alone, is that which follows Luke vi. 4, on the leaf which is usually kept open at Cambridge for the inspection of visitors. It runs thus:—

“‘On the same day he beheld a certain man working on the Sabbath, and said unto him, Man, blessed art thou if thou knowest what thou doest, but if thou knowest not, thou art cursed and a transgressor of the law.’

“I was present when this passage was shown at Cambridge to a learned Greek Archimandrite, Philippos Schulati of Kustandje. He had never heard either of it or of the manuscript before, but after a moment's thought his comment was ready: ‘This cannot be: the Lord cursed no man.’”

The other codex to which the letter D is applied is the **CODEx D OF ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES**, No. 107 in the National Library of Paris, and also called the **CODEx CLAROMONTANUS** from Clermont near Beauvais, in the north of France, where it was discovered by Beza, in the year 1582, soon after sending D of the Gospels and Acts to England. From Beza it passed through the hands of Claude Dupuy and his sons, eminent scholars of Paris, one of whom, Jacques, was the king's

librarian. He brought it to the notice of Louis XIV., and it was purchased for the royal collection. It is a quarto on "the thinnest and finest vellum known to exist, and has five hundred and thirty-three leaves, with parallel columns of Greek and Latin, giving all the Epistles of St. Paul except Rom. i. 1-7; 27-30; and 1 Cor. xiv. 13-22. Several portions of the extant Scripture, however, are the work of another copyist than the original transcriber, though these supplied parts are very ancient. The form of the writing both in the Greek and the Latin is simple and elegant, the characters being very nearly the same size as those in D of the Gospels. The manuscript is stichometrical in form, and must, therefore, have been written after the year 462, when this method of writing was first applied to the Epistles by Euthalius, and it is generally agreed that Tischendorf's decision that it belongs to the sixth century is correct. It undoubtedly emanated from North Africa. This codex has been unfortunate in many respects. Thirty-five of its precious leaves were stolen in 1707 by John Aymont, whose name has thus come down to posterity with infamy. He sold one leaf in Holland, but its honorable possessor restored it to the library containing the volume. The remainder of the stolen portion was bought by Harley, Earl of Oxford, an enthusiastic collector, but it was restored by his son in 1729. In addition to these evils, now so happily corrected, there have been several hands, that at different times have tampered with the text. The original writer made many corrections. Then came some one, who, Tischendorf be-

lieves, was a monk from Sinai or some Greek monastery not far from there, who revised the whole of the Greek and made many corrections. He was of the seventh century. The next reviser altered a few places in both the Greek and the Latin. The next touched only a few passages. Then a fourth took the work in hand, and with deplorable zeal investigated the whole document, changed the spelling, added accents and other marks, and attempted even more serious alterations by inserting readings from another source. More than two thousand places show his interference. After him at least six successive correctors are believed by Tischendorf to have attempted similar work. The result was naturally most unfortunate, and the value and beauty of the original were sadly injured. Several collations of this manuscript have been given to the public, the most sumptuous of which is the facsimile edition by Tischendorf published at Leipzig in 1852.

We now pass to a few manuscripts that may be briefly mentioned, though all are of great value in the work of textual recension.

CODEx E, or LAUDIANUS, has already been referred to (page 43) as an example of stichometry, in which the arrangement of the text gives but one word to a line, with only a few exceptions in which two or three words stand together. The text is also written in an unusual fashion, in having a Latin version in a left-hand column preceding the Greek on the page. It is thought from this order, that the Latin was regarded as the principal text in the place where the volume was used, and that the Greek was added for the sake of the scholars

connected with the church or community, which was probably in Western Europe. The date is the sixth or seventh century. An example of the stichometrical arrangement is given in the Plate, showing the Greek and Latin columns.

Many other manuscripts of importance might be described, but the remaining pages of this chapter must be given to the mention of a few remarkable fragments, which illustrate the perils to which these early and precious documents were often subjected, and also the wonderful skill of critical scholars in recognizing relics, and assigning them their true places among the materials of use in the study of the Greek text. A brief reference to two or three cursives must follow.

THE CODEX REGIUS, L, contains large portions of the four Gospels, and is of great value. It dates perhaps from the last part of the seventh century, though Tischendorf assigns it to the eighth, and Griesbach and others have placed it as late as the ninth. But notwithstanding its late origin, it agrees in a remarkable manner with some of the greater uncials. The copyist has betrayed incompetence in many ways, but he has preserved the reading of the most ancient documents. Scrivener says of this codex, it is "by far the most remarkable document of its age and class." It is in close harmony especially with Codex B, and the quotations of Origen, as well as the marginal notes of the Philoxenian Syriac, are in accord with it. In connection with its most important testimony to certain passages, it will be referred to again.

THE CODEX PURPUREUS, N, is so called because for

a long period it was the most noteworthy of the manuscripts whose text was written upon purple vellum. It is in four parts. The vellum is very thin and was once of a very rich color, upon which the silver letters in which the entire text was written must have presented a beautiful appearance. The words God, Jesus, Lord, Saviour, Son, and other names of the Deity, are in letters of gold, which preserves its lustre, though all the silver text has become black with age. It was in the end of the sixth, or the early part of the seventh century, that this superb book was made. Double columns stand upon a page; the letters are large and round, and written with the greatest distinctness. Four leaves only of this volume are preserved in the British Museum among the Cotton manuscripts, a collection made by three generations of the family of that name and given by them to the Museum. Six leaves of the same book are in the Vatican in Rome, and two are in the Imperial Library of Vienna. A late discovery in the monastery of St. John, upon the Isle of Patmos, revealed thirty-three similar leaves, which have been identified as belonging to the same book. These fragments have already been briefly mentioned upon page 46.

CODEx M of St. Paul's Epistles, otherwise called from its color the Codex Ruber, was separated and used for fly-leaves to a volume of comparatively little value among the Harleian collection in the British Museum. Another small fragment of the same original book is cherished at Hamburg. When Griesbach, already familiar with the fragment upon the continent,

ΑΔΙΛΛΕΑΙΤ	ΟΔΕΕΦΗ
ΥΙΡΙ	ΑΝΔΡΕΣ
ΦΡΑΤΡΕΣ	ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ
ΕΤΡΑΤΡΕΣ	ΚΑΙΠΑΤΕΡΕΣ
ΑΥΔΙΤΕ	ΑΚΟΥΣΑΤΕ
ΘΕΥΣ	ΟΘΕ
ΓΛΟΡΙΑΕ	ΤΗΣΔΟΞΗΣ
ΥΙΣΥΣΕΣΤ	ΩΦΘΗ
ΠΑΤΡΙ	ΤΩΠΡΙ
ΝΟΣΤΡΟ	ΗΜΩΝ
ΑΒΡΑΗΑΕ	ΑΒΡΑΑΜ

CODEX LAUDIANUS.

Acts VII, 2.

saw the leaves in London, he exclaimed instantly that they were of the same volume, recognizing at a glance the peculiar form of the text, as well as the brilliant color of the ink in which it is written.

Another valuable fragment, T, or **CODEx BORGIANUS**, of the fifth century, has only thirteen leaves. In this instance it is known how only a small part of the volume has been preserved. A monk started from Egypt with the whole work in his possession, but regarded it as of no special value. His ignorance and carelessness were so great, that upon his arrival in Europe with only thirteen of the precious leaves, he had no better explanation to give of the absence of the remainder than that he had lost them during the journey! The thirteen leaves are a part of the collection in the library of the Propaganda at Rome.

Another fragment, rescued by remarkable skill, is a single leaf of the Gospel of St. Mark, known by the sign W^d, and deposited at Trinity College in Cambridge, in England. The leaf is made up of *twenty-seven different pieces*, into which it had been torn in binding a volume of the works of Gregory of Nazianzum. The true character of the pieces was detected by Mr. Bradshaw, the librarian of the University, in 1862, and they were separated from the binding and arranged together upon a sheet of glass, as seen at present. A somewhat similar case is that of O, or the **CODEx MOSQUENSIS**, in the Library of the Holy Synod at Moscow, consisting of eight leaves, which were found in the binding of a copy of Chrysostom's Homilies formerly at Mount Athos. But perhaps the most note-

worthy of all the manuscripts thus rescued from the bindings of books, and from other purposes foreign to their original one, is that of **CODEx COISLINIANUS**, **HP**, which is in many parts. The whole number of leaves now known is twenty-nine,* and they were all found in the binding of manuscripts, which belonged originally to the Monastery of St. Athanasius at Mount Athos. The codex is divided between many places, twelve leaves being in the National Library at Paris, two in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg, two at Moscow, four belonging to Archbishop Porfiri and the Archimandrite Antony at St. Petersburg, and nine recently discovered in a monastery upon Mount Athos. The text is of much value, and it is regretted that the parts are so difficult of access. But the Codex Coislinianus must ever be considered as a good illustration of the extent to which critical scholarship can go in the recognition of these ancient fragments, the determination of their relations to each other, and of their value for the purposes of textual study. Ignorance degraded them to inferior uses. Learning has rescued and restored them, and even more than that, has bestowed upon them a new dignity at present, by applying them to the study of texts by several centuries earlier than their own.

It will be sufficient to speak of only three or four cursives out of the many hundreds that are extant, and to exhibit a single plate, (a facsimile of Luke i.

* Compare the Critical Handbook, Professor E. C. Mitchell, D. D.; p. 111. Tables revised by Professor Ezra Abbot, D. D., LL. D.

8-11, of Codex 33 as given by Scrivener), which may illustrate the difference between the uncial writing used in the manuscripts thus far described, and the form which prevailed after the tenth century.

CODEx 1, in the Library of Basle, contains the whole of the New Testament, except the Revelation. The great scholar Reuchlin once had it for a considerable time in his possession, having borrowed it from the Dominican monks of Basle, but he made little or no use of it to add to our Biblical knowledge. More important was its employment by Erasmus in the preparation of his New Testament, but strangely enough he rejected its aid after finding that its readings disagreed with other copies with which he was more familiar. Yet unquestionably Codex 1 was the most valuable authority then at hand in Basle, and Erasmus would better have rejected all the other copies, or at least assigned them their inferior place, than have refused the voice of this valuable document. It is written in an elegant style, with minute letters, and fully equipped with accents and breathings, and other aids to reading the text. The initials are in gold, and the full point that occurs on the first page of each Gospel is a large ball of gold. The manuscript was once adorned with splendid miniatures, among which were said to be a portrait of the Emperor Leo the Philosopher (VI) of the Byzantine Empire, who reigned from 886 to 912. Another represented his son Constantine. But all the miniatures were stolen from the volume, except one before St. Luke's Gospel. This manuscript is believed to have

been made in the tenth century, and its text is of great value, similar to that of the uncials B and L.

It is generally agreed by scholars that no cursive exceeds in importance that which is known by the number 33, the "Queen of the Cursives," as it has been called by Eichhorn. Its date is as late as the eleventh century, but its value in determining the text is to be rated only next to the first four or five uncials of the earliest dates. The various readings of its text, and its likeness to the uncials just mentioned, make it of great importance. It contains nearly the whole of the New Testament, except the Revelation, together with a part of the Prophets. The manuscript is on vellum, almost every leaf of which has suffered from damp and consequent decay. The ink, too, has been affected by the moisture, and the text has been very greatly injured. In several cases the leaves have stuck together so closely, that their separation was only accomplished at the cost of the entire transfer of the ink upon one page to the other, so that the manuscript can only be read by the *set-off*, as printers call it, on the opposite page. This gives the Greek backwards, as well as mingled with the writing originally upon the page. It may well be imagined, that such a double and reversed text can only be made out with the utmost difficulty, often greater than that attending the study of a palimpsest. Tregelles says of it, that of all the manuscripts upon which he had worked none had "ever been so wearisome to the eyes and exhaustive of every faculty of attention." Yet even in the most obscure places, and often where

3 ἔτι ὁ φημίβρις αὐτοῦ ἔγραψεν τῷ ἑωκασί
σαι ἔσθλθὸν ἔγραψεν τῷ ἑωκασί. καὶ πᾶσι τὰ
ἔργα τοῦ θυμῶντος. ὁ φημίβρις αὐτοῦ ἔγραψεν.

CODEX 33: C

Luke I, 8

ὑποῖς τῆς ἐραίας· ἐλαχὺ τοῦ θυμῷ
πληθύνει· ἐν λαῷ προσεχόμενός ἐστι
τοῦ ἔργου· ἐν τῷ θυμῷ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· τὸν

CURSIVE.

8-II.

the original page has wholly decayed, the *set-off* has been successfully deciphered, as one of the greatest triumphs of learning and patient skill. In 1850 Tregelles collated the whole manuscript, reviewing the former editions by Larroque and Scholz, and referring every difference a second time to the codex itself. The volume, a fine folio, is in the National Library at Paris.

CODEx 61, or MONTFORTIANUS, derives its name from one of its former possessors, Rev. Thomas Montfort, D. D., of Cambridge. It is now at Trinity College, Dublin. This manuscript is of special interest among the cursives from the part it has played in the discussion of the interpolated verse in the First Epistle of St. John (v. 7), the verse of the "Three Heavenly Witnesses." It contains the whole New Testament, written apparently by three or four different hands, and is composed of four hundred and fifty-five paper leaves, only one of which is glazed. This single glazed leaf is the one containing the verse mentioned. A witty Irish prelate, quoted by Scrivener,* said of this coincidence:—"We often hear that the text of the Three Heavenly Witnesses is a *gloss*, and anyone that will go into the College Library *may see as much for himself*." When Erasmus published his two earliest editions of the New Testament he did not insert this verse, and was severely blamed for the omission. His defence was that it was not found in the manuscripts used by him, and he pledged himself to insert it in his revisions if any Greek copy could be

* Plain Introduction, p. 173, Note.

found containing it. In his third edition he printed the verse (in 1552), saying that he found it in a Codex Britannicus discovered in England. The verse, as printed by Erasmus, is in exact verbal agreement with the text upon this glazed leaf of Montfortianus, and it is wholly agreed that the Codex Britannicus must have been the one now known by this name. The earliest owner of the manuscript whose name we know was Froy, a Franciscan friar, from whom it passed to Thomas Clement; next it was owned by William Chark; then by Montfort; then by Archbishop Usher; from whose hands it came into possession of the college in Dublin. It will be noticed that the name of the third owner was William Chark, and when we come to speak of the next cursive it will be found that he was also at one time the possessor of the Codex No. 69. In 61 the Revelation has been thought to have been copied from 69, when both were in the hands of Chark. Certainly the margins of both copies bear many notes in his handwriting, and it would have been a strong temptation to have had the opportunity of completing 61 by adding the Revelation from so good a source. As it stands, the text of this added Scripture is found to be of higher critical value than any other part of the volume.

THE CODEX LEICESTRENSIS, 69, belongs to the town of Leicester in England, whence it takes its name, and is deposited in the Town Library, to which it was given by a clergyman of the vicinity, Thomas Hayne, who received it from a fellow clergyman, William Chark. It is a folio volume, with leaves both of paper

and vellum, and the writing is rough and so carelessly done as to be in many places almost illegible. The leaves are so arranged as to give two of parchment followed by three of paper in regular order. The writing is noteworthy from having been done with the *calamus*, or reed pen, such as is spoken of in St. John's Third Epistle (iii. 13), very few of the old manuscripts being written with this instrument instead of the style. The codex is of the fourteenth century, and is especially valuable as being one of the few cursives that contain the whole of the New Testament. It is also remarkable for containing many readings varying from the received text, and scholars place it in critical value above the later uncials. The most important collations are those made by Tregelles and Scrivener. It is found that this codex is so closely similar to three others, Codex 13 of the Gospels at Paris, Codex 124 at Vienna, and Codex 346 at Milan, that the four must have been made from the same original, the date of which was probably as early as the sixth century.

Though many other cursives might well be mentioned, only one more can here find place, as again illustrating the perils to which ignorance has subjected these ancient treasures. It is Codex 95 of the Apocalypse, to which is added an epitome of a commentary upon the same book. The story of its discovery is given by Scrivener in his Lectures, and the manuscript was collated by him in 1855. It was found by Curzon in 1837 "on the library-floor at the monastery of Caracalla on Mount Athos. He begged it of the abbot, who suggested that the vellum-leaves

would be of use to cover pickle-jars!" Thus was this codex, which Tregelles calls a "special treasure," and which was regarded by him and by Dean Alford as one of the most valuable cursive manuscripts of the Revelation, rescued to become one of the most important literary possessions of Christendom.



Subscriptio in fine libri.

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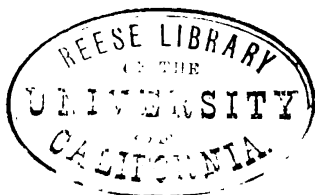
ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ
ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΤ
ΘΑΙΟΝ



CODEX ROSSANENSIS.

Subscription to Gospel of Matthew.





CHAPTER IX.

THE LATEST DISCOVERY.

THE little town of Rossano, in South Italy, is built upon a rocky hill, about three miles from the southern shore of the Gulf of Taranto. It was famous in ancient times as one of the most impregnable of the strongholds of the Romans against the Goths, sitting majestic upon the heights, with the steep precipices of the neighborhood forming natural barriers to the approach of foes. But in these late days its name has received a wider and more lasting fame from its connection with one of these invaluable Christian treasures, which it preserved from the earliest times, and yielded at last to the researches of scholars of our own day. The town is still walled and its castle remains; the inhabitants, as of old, live by their culture of the grape and olive and grains, and by the fisheries in the neighboring gulf. There is little to disturb the daily routine within the boundary of the walls, and it is chiefly the services connected with the cathedral-church which bring variety to the people. The entrance of two strangers into the town would hardly be noticed, and probably there was very little stir when in the spring of the year 1879 two men, unknown to the quiet citizens, came seeking the

libraries, and inquiring for any relics of a monastery, about which the people had ceased to think, except as the sight of its ruins outside the town might recall the stories of its foundation and history.

Oscar von Gebhardt of Göttingen and Adolph Harnack of Giessen, both pursuing their journeys and researches in the interest of the Prussian Cultus-ministerium and the Albrecht foundation at Leipzig in connection with the University, were on their way to Sicily, when they delayed a little at Rossano to endeavor to find any literary remains of interest from the library that once existed in the convent. It had been said that once there were important writings of Dionysius of Alexandria and of Hippolytus treasured by the monks and not known to exist in any other copies, and it was especially in hope of getting some trace of these manuscripts, or of discovering some works of the Greek Fathers, that these two German scholars visited the place. Their hope seemed especially well founded, for it was known that the brotherhood of Santa Maria de lo Patire, like the monks of many other of the Italian monasteries of the order of St. Basil, had kept up the use of the Greek ritual, and even the Greek language in prayers and writings until a late period of the Middle Ages.

For a time it seemed as if the quest would be wholly in vain. No one knew of any such treasures as they sought. Persons were found who could tell them what they already knew about the old ruins out on the olive-shaded road to Corigliano, and they even discovered a few printed volumes that once belonged

to the library, but which were of dates so late as the eighteenth century; but of manuscripts there were none. At last they heard of a very ancient book in the possession of the Archbishop. They turned their steps to the episcopal residence. Monsignor Pietro Cilento received them most courteously, confirmed the story that had been told them, and gave them cheerful permission to see the volume. It was laid before them, a book with a strong black leather binding, a thick quarto, some old Latin Bible, they thought, and possibly of considerable value. The covers were opened, the pages turned. The scholars at the first glance wondered, for they saw what they had not dared to hope. A more careful inspection fastened conviction upon their minds, and they gave themselves up to the delight which almost made them beside themselves. They had found a book, beyond doubt one of the most valuable books in the world. It was a copy of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, the latter closing, however, with the middle of the fourteenth verse of the last chapter, to which is added the Epistle of Eusebius to Carpianus by a later hand strongly resembling that of the Zürich Purple Psalter, which Tischendorf assigned to the seventh century. It was a splendid purple manuscript, with double columns of silver text on each page, the first three lines of each Gospel being in gold. In addition to these sumptuous leaves, there were a large number of miniatures in rich and still vivid colors. With the permission of the Archbishop the delighted scholars devoted weeks to the study of the volume, collating its text and pre-

paring facsimiles of the writing for future publication. At the same time they secured tracings of many of the illustrations.

This **CODEx ROSSANENSIS** has one hundred and eighty-eight leaves of vellum, which have been somewhat injured by binding. The letters are uncial and very similar to those of Codex N (p. 127), the most noteworthy purple manuscript previous to this discovery. The double columns each contain twenty lines, and there are only from nine to twelve letters in a line; the words are not separated; there are no accents or breathings; there are few erasures, and the punctuation is limited to an occasional point. But the Ammonian Sections and the Eusebian Canons are marked. In a word there are all the evidences of great antiquity, and the discoverers place the origin of the codex in the sixth century, though it is believed by others, that it may fall as late as the beginning of the seventh. It is distinguished by the Greek letter sigma, Σ .

In 1880 Professors Gebhardt and Harnack, the discoverers of the book, published a descriptive volume in Leipzig, with facsimiles and miniatures in outline and monochrome. Many of these plates are of extreme interest, although they do not represent the colors of the originals. The first two are printed in purple, and the silver letters are reproductions of the text. The first plate gives in the middle of the page St. Matthew's Gospel, vi. 13, 14, with various literal signs and peculiarities of the text around the margin; and the second facsimile contains the subscription

of the first gospel as shown in the plate at the beginning of this chapter.

The plates in the German volume are nineteen in number, and show that the miniatures of the original are not only striking pictures of the incidents of the Gospels, but also that in many cases they are to be ranked among the better drawings of the earliest Christian art. Not many of them can here be described in detail, but a few hints may be given to aid the imagination of the reader. Plate V, for example, shows the triumphal entry into Jerusalem. On the extreme left are two figures, and in the boughs of a tree a third person, who is plucking the palm-branches with which to salute the Christ. Next, in the left-centre, is the Saviour mounted upon the ass; then many people are strewing their clothing in the way and waving the branches, while at the extreme right is the city, with children issuing from the gateway to join the throng. City and tree and ass are all nearly of the same size and are drawn with no perspective, yet the picture is full of life and vigor. Plate VII illustrates the parable of the Ten Virgins, and we see the bridegroom with the five wise virgins upon the right, separated from the five foolish virgins on the left by a simple door, which stands alone without a trace of walls: yet the idea is perfectly clear. Plate XV shows Judas restoring the silver to two high-priests, who sit beneath a canopy upon the left and shrink back from the money with raised hands, and upon the extreme right is the same figure of Judas hanging from the bough of a tree. Plate XI in a similar manner shows two scenes, for at

the right is the prostrate form of Jesus praying in the garden, and at the left He is awaking the three disciples, while overhead in a narrow strip of sky a few stars are regularly disposed and the crescent moon is shining. All the plates, which are nineteen in number, are very clear, conveying their meaning readily to any one in the least acquainted with the stories of the gospels. Plate XVIII, from which our illustration is reduced, gives an interesting grouping of four medallions representing the Evangelists, each one with a volume upon the left arm and with the right hand raised, as if in a gesture of benediction. In the centre of the arabesque in the original manuscript the appropriate title is written. Other miniatures give heads of "prophets," forty in all, David, Solomon, Moses, Joshua, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Nahum, Zechariah, Zephaniah, Malachi, Sirach, and others.

Where this fine manuscript was written, or by whom, cannot be told. Whence it came into the possession of the present owners, the Chapter of the Cathedral, which now consists of forty-eight members, not even they can say. The discoverers relate that the manuscript was seen and mentioned about thirty years ago by a writer named Malpica, of Naples, but apparently a man of so little discernment that he described the book as a "history of the antiquity of the cathedral" of Rossano. The volume remains where it was found, and now that its value is understood, is very jealously guarded from injury or loss. Indeed the regret is already expressed by European scholars that the discoverers did not publish



TITLE-PAGE OF THE CODEX ROSSANENSIS.

a larger volume than the one issued in 1880, descriptive of the book and giving a full collation of the text, for it is now feared that the opportunity for the free study of the original codex is past, unless the owners of it themselves prepare an edition for publication. Possibly, however, the German editors may have materials already in their possession for a more extensive edition in the future. The Italian Government has made a fourfold inventory of the manuscript, so that no misfortune will be likely to deprive the world of a knowledge of its contents. As for the value of the Codex in textual criticism, it will hardly find place among the manuscripts of first rank, agreeing rather with the documents of the fifth century than with those of the fourth. Its strange richness of pictorial illustration, however, gives it a peculiar place, for it is the oldest pictorial Gospel known. One of the discoverers writes concerning this characteristic:—"That obscure chapter of the history of art which treats of the transition from the primitive Christian and antique to the so-called Byzantine art will, it is hoped, receive some light from the new discovery."

CHAPTER X.

VERSIONS.

THE story of the manuscripts would be too incomplete without at least a brief reference to the translations of the sacred Scriptures made in ancient times. As already intimated, some of these are of the very earliest Christian ages, and stand side by side with many of the great uncial copies in importance.

We remember how, in the fourth century before Christ, the victorious arms of Alexander the Great laid all the Eastern world in submission at his feet. Not only were the arms of Alexander victorious, but the Greek language went with his battalions and won for itself a realm co-extensive with the kingdom of the conqueror. In connection with the wide dispersion of the Jews and the knowledge of their sacred books, wherever a colony of the Jews was found, this general use of the Greek language gave occasion for the translation of the Old Testament into Greek, in the famous version of the Septuagint completed in Alexandria about the year 275 B. C. And when the Christ came and the new Scriptures became the possession of His Church, the same familiarity with the Greek language made the composition of the New Testament in that tongue most natural. The Macedonian Dominion had

yielded to the Roman Empire before this was accomplished, and the advantages of a power extended over nearly the whole of the known world were added to the marvellous facilities of expression which were given by the language of statesmen and orators, philosophers and poets, who have made ancient Greece famous forever. But although the New Testament was thus given the freest access to man's thought, there were churches which had many members who could not read the Greek, nor readily understand it in the services of their worship. In the chief cities of Asia Minor, in the larger towns of North Africa, in Rome, and, of course, in the Greek churches, the original writings could be used without difficulty; but in places further removed from the centres of social, commercial, and political life there were multitudes of Christians who could only receive the truth of their Scriptures through translations into their native speech. Syria must have its version into the ordinary language of the people. Egypt, where even the bishops of many of the churches were acquainted with no language but their own, must have at least two translations to meet the wants of the people of Lower and Upper Egypt, by whom different dialects were spoken, and thus the Memphitic and the Thebaic versions were made, each representing one of these dialects of the Coptic language. Again, in Italy and the west of Europe the Latin tongue prevailed, and a demand for versions into that language arose, while the more northern tribes could only be reached through a Gothic text. It will readily be seen that all these Bibles will be useful in

showing the nature of the originals from which they were made, and in proportion to their age and fidelity will be of value in textual criticism. A few only of these translations can be mentioned in these pages.

THE OLD LATIN claims our first attention as at once perhaps the most ancient, and certainly one of the most important of all. We should naturally look for its origin to Italy, if not to Rome itself, but we know that it came from the North of Africa, and not even from Alexandria, whence so many of the ancient Greek codices emanated, but from the region of which Carthage was the centre. Its first use was also probably in this western province of Africa. At the time when it was written, in the second century, the Church of Rome, to which St. Paul had written his Epistle in Greek, still used a Greek liturgy, and was presided over by bishops bearing Greek names, and who wrote in that language. But the Christians of Carthage spoke the Latin; and Tertullian, who wrote at Carthage at the close of the second century, refers to the general use of a Latin copy of the New Testament by the churches of that place. It has been demonstrated, however, especially through the labors of Cardinal Wiseman, that the extant manuscripts of this version must have had their original text from this African source, because they contain so many expressions no longer in use in Rome, but wholly similar to those found in the writings of African authors, who lived and wrote in the first centuries of the Christian era. As time went on, however, this Latin Bible crossed the sea, and a revised text was in use in Italy so early

as the fourth century; and it is here, and especially in the northern portions, Lombardy and Piedmont, that the richest relics have been found. A manuscript, nearly as old as the Sinaitic and Vatican codices, containing parts of the Gospels and known by the sign *α.*, was discovered in 1726 at Vercelli, and many others have been found which unite their testimony for the same original text. They are marked, however, by a great variety of readings, and even in the fourth century the need of a new translation was evident.

THE VULGATE was the result of this need. By this time the Roman Church itself had become deeply interested in having the Scriptures in the Latin tongue, and Jerome, whose fame as a Biblical scholar was as great in the west as in the east, was commissioned to prepare the desired version. The work was begun at Rome in 383, and the Old Latin furnished the basis for the new text. It was well understood that a translation, wholly independent of the already received version, would be met with strenuous opposition from the more ignorant portions of the church, as subversive of the truth and an injury to the cause of religion, just as every change in the text of the English translations has been jealously watched, and made the subject of loud complaint; and for exactly the same reason, which determined the Convocation of Canterbury to prepare a Revision of King James's Version, rather than a new translation based only upon the most approved Greek texts, the design of Pope Damasus and Jerome was limited to a revision of the Old Latin so long in use. But Jerome was assigned a

more difficult task even than that which has employed the English and American Revision Committee of this day, so far as the accepted version was concerned, for it was hard to say then what was the correct reading which should be made the basis of the work. "There are almost as many forms of the text as there are copies," he said to Damasus. It was found necessary to have recourse to early Greek manuscripts, and by comparison of these with the Old Latin the Vulgate was formed, very much as the new English edition of the New Testament has just now (May, 1881) been completed. The solitary scholar of the fourth century, however, toiled under great difficulties. The Pope under whose patronage the work was begun died, when it had been in progress only a year. Jerome left Rome and sought seclusion in the east, and the translation begun in Rome was completed in his monastic cell in Bethlehem in 385. It was only through the lapse of many years, however, that the new work attained a general acceptance with the Christians for whom it was prepared, but at last it justified its name as the Vulgate, (*Vulgata Editio*), or Common Bible, and during many centuries it has been the received Latin text by the Roman Catholic Church, and has itself been the basis of many other translations. "As an interpretation," says Scrivener, "the Vulgate far surpasses its prototype; as an instrument of criticism it is decidedly superior, where the evidence of the Old Latin may be had; for it does not, like its predecessor, bring before us the testimony, good or bad, of documents of the second century, but only that of

manuscripts which Jerome deemed correct and ancient at the end of the fourth."

The Syriac Versions form the next group of which mention must be made. It was in the north of Syria that the Aramaean branch of the great Semitic family of languages was used. The Hebrew, which was once spoken by the Jews, and in which most of the books of the Old Testament are written, passed out of use as a spoken language about six hundred years before the time of Christ, when the captivity in Babylon familiarized the Jews with the Chaldee and the Syriac, the two dialects of the Aramaean spoken in the north. When the return of the captives was effected, they brought the language of their conquerors with them, and it remained the vernacular of the country until the Arabic began to displace it, and in the thirteenth century it had ceased to be spoken. Its literary remains are chiefly those of the north, containing the language as it was spoken and taught at the famous school of Edessa. The Syriac versions of the Bible are among the most ancient remains of the language.

THE PESHITO, or the SIMPLE, though not the oldest text, has been the longest known, and it is of great importance. It was so called, possibly, for several reasons, the most evident being in the contrast between it and the *midrashim*, or allegorical interpretations of the Old Testament; in this sense the name would be nearly equivalent to our words *literal* or *faithful*. Perhaps another reason* for the name was found in the fact, that this text bore no asterisks and obeli, marks

* Horne's Introduction, iv. 259.

used in some manuscripts of the Old Testament to indicate the revision by Origen, and the margins were free from references to other versions. It is in the Old Syriac, and speaks for the Greek text of the second century, though its own date is doubtful. Some scholars have placed it as early as the latter half of the second century, and some even in the first century,* while others have somewhat doubtfully assigned it to so late a period as the fifth. It was long believed to be the version referred to by Ephraem the Syrian, who died about 378 A.D., but since the discovery of the Curetonian Syriac, this argument for its origin before Ephraem has lost its force. Whatever may have been the translation to which Ephraem refers, whether the Peshito, or the Curetonian version, he calls it *our version*, as already adopted by the churches of Syrian Christians, and therefore already in existence for some considerable period. The Peshito contains both the Old and the New Testaments. All the canonical books were originally found in the Old Testament, but from the New Testament the second and third epistles of St. John, the second of St. Peter, that of St. Jude, and the Revelation are wanting.

It will be evident to the reader that this free, yet exact, translation, dating from such an early age, must be of great value in determining the text from which it was made, and which must have antedated it by a considerable time. In the case of a disputed passage a reference to this version would go far toward settling the question as to what the Christians of the earliest

* So Michaelis.

post-apostolic age read in their Bibles. But as already intimated the Peshito does not stand alone in Syriac testimony to the earliest readings of the Scriptures.

THE CURETONIAN SYRIAC was discovered after its existence had been for a long time suspected by sagacious scholars. Griesbach and others had expressed the opinion that probably the Peshito was not the earliest Syriac text used by the churches, and in 1848 Tregelles suggested that when the Nitrian manuscripts brought to England the year before should be collated, traces of the earlier text might be found among them. In his examination of these documents, of which he was the custodian, Dr. Cureton had noticed a copy of the Gospels very different from the Peshito, and it was found to be of such a character as to justify the previously formed opinions of the critics. The manuscript, consisting of eighty-two and a half leaves, was carefully prepared for publication, but its appearance was delayed until 1858, when it was issued with an English translation by Dr. Cureton. These leaves contain the Gospels of St. Matthew i. to viii. 22, and x. 31 to xxiii. 25; of St. Luke ii. 48 to iii. 16; vii. 33 to xv. 21, and xvii. 24 to xxiv. 44; of St. John i. 1-42, and iii. 6 to vii. 37; and a few scattered verses of the fourteenth chapter; but of St. Mark there are only four verses, xvi. 17-20. In 1871 three more leaves were discovered and deposited in the Imperial Library in Berlin, supplying in St. Luke's Gospel xv. 22 to xvi. 12; xvii. 1-23, and in St. John's vii. 38 to viii. 19, except the verses vii. 53 to viii. 12, containing the story of the woman taken in adultery. Cureton, Tregelles,

Alford, Ewald, Bleek, and others, believe this text to be older than the Peshito, though others, and apparently Scrivener* among them, refer it to so late a date as the fifth century. It bears a very striking likeness to the text of the Codex Bezaë, so that it is considered as almost certainly from the same original as that famous copy.

Other valuable Syriac versions are the PHILOXENIAN and its revision by Thomas Harkel, and the JERUSALEM SYRIAC LECTIONARY. The former 'is in the later Syriac, and is called Philoxenian from Philoxenus, bishop of Hierapolis from A.D. 488 to 518, under whose patronage the work was done in the year 508 by Polycarp, his rural bishop. The version was revised in 616 by Thomas of Harclea, or Harkel, in Palestine, though the work was done in Alexandria. The postscript to the Gospels says: "This is the book of the four holy Evangelists, which was turned out of the Greek language into Syriac with great diligence and much labour, first in the city of Mabug in the year 819 of Alexander of Macedon (508) in the days of the pious Mar Philoxenus, confessor, bishop of that city. But it was afterwards collated with great care by me, poor Thomas, with the aid of two highly approved and accurate Greek MSS. in Antonia, of the great city

* At the close of a full discussion of the relations of the Peshito and the Curetonian Syriac in his Plain Introduction, pp. 281-286, Scrivener remarks of the latter: "On the whole, then, fully admitting the critical value of this newly-discovered document, and feeling much perplexed when we try to account for its origin, we see no reason whatever to doubt its decided inferiority *in every respect* to the primitive version still read throughout the Churches of the East."

of Alexandria, in the holy monastery of the Antonians. It was again written out and collated in the aforesaid place in the year 927 of the same Alexander (616), in the fourth indiction. How much toil and diligence I spent upon it and its companions the Lord only knows, who will reward every man according to his works in his just and righteous judgment, in which may we be counted worthy of his mercy. Amen."* "Poor Thomas" gives us another pathetic instance of the relief so gladly reached after what must have seemed an almost interminable task. The Philoxenian version is extremely literal, and though the worth of the translation must have been impaired on this account, because the Syriac idioms are constantly sacrificed to the literal rendering, it is easy to see how this very feature adds to its importance for critical purposes. Its value is enhanced by marginal readings, which are the same in a large majority of instances with those found in the more important codices B, C, D, and L, and many cursives.

THE JERUSALEM SYRIAC, as it is called, needs but a few words in this place. It is a service-book with lessons from the Gospels for Sundays and feast-days throughout the year. It was written at Antioch in 1030 in a dialect similar to that in use in Jerusalem, and from a Greek text of great antiquity. Its readings agree with those of nearly all the best codices, such as B, C, D, L, and the most important cursives.

* Quoted by Davidson (Bib. Crit. 632) as translated from the postscript to the Gospels printed from Ridley's MS. in White's edition, vol. II. p. 561 *et seq.*

The next great group of translations to be mentioned is the African, in the *Æthiopic* and *Egyptian* languages. *Æthiopia* was a term applied with much indefiniteness by the ancients to the region of Africa lying south of Egypt, but in the general acceptation of the term by modern scholars, and with reference to linguistic and ecclesiastical matters it refers to the Abyssinian regions, and the *Æthiopic* language has now become equivalent simply to the written language of the ancient Abyssinian Church. Abyssinia was converted to Christianity in the fourth century under the labors of Frumentius and *Ædetius*, who had been sent into the country as slaves, but bestowed the freedom of the children of God upon many of its heathen people through the preaching of the Gospel. For the Christians thus converted a translation of the Scriptures was made, possibly by Frumentius himself in the latter part of the fourth century, though it is impossible to determine with accuracy either when, or by whom, the work was done. It is far from being of high critical value, though it was evidently made from a Greek original.

Of much greater importance are the *Egyptian* translations. They are called respectively the **MEMPHITIC VERSION** and the **THEBAIC VERSION**, according to the parts of Egypt in the dialects of which they are written. We know that Christianity had gained a strong foothold in Egypt in the very earliest times. It was here that monasticism established itself most firmly, and Paul of Thebes, with his disciple Pachomius, and especially the great Antony, whose fame was estab-

lished in Europe by his biography written by Athanasius, with many other noted monks like Ammonius and Hilarion, gave a very distinctive character to the Egyptian church, their communities of anchorites exercising a strong influence even upon the Christian life in the cities, and sometimes even affecting the imperial court itself in far-off Constantinople.* The Greek language, introduced after the conquest by Alexander, had laid hold upon the more ancient dialects of the people, but, as was natural, more forcibly in the northern parts of Egypt, near the court of the Ptolemies, than in the south; and when the Greek ceased to be spoken as a separate tongue the differences between the dialects of Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt were marked. These monks or anchorites had extended Christianity throughout the whole country, up and down the Nile and even to the borders of the Libyan deserts. The Christians therefore covered the region occupied by both of the principal dialects. They could not read the Greek; they were not familiar with each other's speech; and yet they needed the Scriptures, that they might understand the truth. The monks were strictly trained in the Bible. A rule of Pachomius is extant, requiring the reading of "the Scriptures and Psalter," and if the command were to be obeyed there must be facilities for an acquaintance with the Bible in the language of the people. At the very earliest times, therefore, there must have been translations from the original Greek, and the Memphitic and Thebaic versions give to us their

* Guericke, Church History (Ancient Church, p. 286, § 74).

texts. Very many manuscripts of the former have been discovered, most of them of dates not earlier than the tenth century, and yet Canon Lightfoot, through whose labors they are chiefly known, considers them of the greatest importance in textual criticism. "Of all the versions," he says, "the Memphitic is perhaps the most important for the textual critic," and he ranks the Thebaic as "only second to the Memphitic in value." The manuscripts of the Thebaic, which have thus far been discovered, are few and fragmentary, so that "a complete version of the New Testament cannot be made up from all of them put together" (Scrivener); but they are nearly all of high antiquity. The agreement of these two versions with each other is in many instances of special force, while their testimony to the readings of some of the principal uncials is important. For a long time the Memphitic was the only version known to the critics, relics of the Thebaic coming to light about a century ago through the labors of several scholars. A third translation called the BASHMURIC, has also transmitted a few fragments to us, but it is only a modification of the Thebaic for the sake of herdsmen who lived in the Delta of the Nile, and is chiefly useful to supply a few passages in which the Thebaic is defective.

Other versions, the Gothic by which the Gospel was given to the tribes of northern Europe, the Georgian, and Frankish, the Anglo-Saxon, the Persian, and Arabic need only the mention of their names in these pages, for they are of slight value for the determination of the original text of the New Testament.

Enough has been shown of the greater groups of versions to indicate their importance and to reveal their relative positions with the great Greek codices in the criticism of the text. It remains only to be remarked, that their testimony to their originals is very similar to that of the references and quotations found in the writings of the earliest Christian authors, which have always been one of the most valued sources of knowledge concerning the existence and nature of the apostolic Scriptures. Such quotations, if not exact and literal, are in effect paraphrases or versions more or less accurate of the passages under discussion, bearing testimony at once in many cases to their authenticity, their genuineness as part of the recognized canon, and the true reading of the Greek from which the quotation is made. All such witness is secondary to that borne by the Greek manuscripts themselves, so far as the text of the originals is concerned, but wholly invaluable in biblical study.

CHAPTER XI.

HOW ARE THE MANUSCRIPTS USED ?

No attempt will be made in this chapter either to give a full original examination of passages whose form in the received text has been disputed, or to present in its completeness the work of experts upon the Scriptures quoted. It will only be sought to *illustrate* the methods in which the manuscripts are used, without any strict attention to the details of argument, which might obscure, rather than elucidate, the subject for all but the most learned readers.

Before proceeding to quotations, however, it will be desirable to present a statement of certain laws generally observed in such work, and here it would manifestly be useless to give the whole code which one scholar or another has laid down for his own course, many of the canons being of such a character as to be of little interest to the general reader, who does not have the special work of the critic to do. Dr. Samuel Davidson, for instance, details eleven special rules for the guidance of criticism in the New Testament, some of which could hardly find place in these pages without elaborate explanation, with application to examples. But it will be useful to give a few of the more obvious canons recognized by scholars universally and brought

together from lists given by many of them. In such an enumeration, the following may be noted :—

CANON I. *The more difficult and obscure reading should be preferred to the plainer and easier one.* This is the first canon of the celebrated German scholar, Bengel, and it stands fourth in the list of Davidson. It is reasonable to suppose, indeed, that if a copyist made any change in an original passage, thus producing a false reading, it would be in attempting to throw light upon a dark expression, rather than to obscure what was before quite plain. For example, some manuscripts have the words *without cause* in Matt. v. 22, while the Sinaitic and Vatican manuscripts omit them. It is more probable that these words were added to explain what seemed a hard statement to the copyist, than that they were omitted after having originally formed a part of the verse, since the omission adds to the difficulty of expounding the passage and justifying its statement as righteous. So, too, in Matt. xxi, 7 :—they “brought the ass, and the colt, and put on them their clothes, and they set him upon them,”—some manuscripts read “upon him.” Now, it would manifestly be more natural for a transcriber to change the word from the plural to the singular than from the singular to the plural, to get rid of the difficulty of supposing that they set the Lord upon both animals. According to the canon, therefore, the reading *upon them* is most likely to be the original one, and should be retained. The English version, in this instance, escapes the trouble to some degree by translating the words *upon them*, by *thereon*.

CANON II. *The style of each author should be used as a test of a varied reading.* Davidson gives this as his second rule, while in Scrivener's popular arrangement it stands third. Manifestly it is very important, for an interpolation by a copyist, or any other change in the original text, would be apt to show a variation from the usual mode of expression in similar passages by the author. For example, in Matt. xii. 14, Lachmann and Tischendorf and Tregelles, in accordance with this rule, give an order to the Greek words different from that in the usually received text; and in Matt. xxvi. 17, the words *to him* should be omitted, as they are in B and **N**, in accord with the custom of St. Matthew in all places where he gives a similar narrative of what was said. It is evident, however, that this canon could not be *pressed* in all cases, because, as in the instance just given, it is certainly possible • that an author might use an expression once though he had never written it before.

CANON III. *A reading is to be regarded as the original, from which all the other readings may be naturally derived, though it itself could not be derived from any of them.* In James iii. 12, the Codices A, B, C, and **N** read, "neither can salt water yield fresh," instead of the verse of our English translation, as supported by other manuscripts, "so can no fountain both yield salt water and fresh." It is much easier to see how the shorter form could be amplified into the latter than how the former could be the result of the latter. A rule similar to this, and of which the example just given may also be a good illustration, is

CANON IV. *The shorter reading is to be preferred to the longer, at least in all cases where the latter seems to be offered by way of explanation of the shorter form.* It is found that in Mark vi. 11, the words: "Verily I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment than for that city," should be expunged. They are found in some good manuscripts, but B and N omit them, and they are regarded as an explanatory addition to the preceding words.

CANON V. *Readings which offer strong suspicion of having been introduced to favor special opinions or practices should yield to those which are free from such suspicion.* A manuscript giving a reading in favor of orthodoxy, for instance, where others vary from the prevalent belief when the document was written, is open to such suspicion; while such a passage as Rev. xxii. 14, "Blessed are they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life," it seems to Davidson and others, should yield to the reading, "Blessed are they who wash their robes, that they may have right," &c., not merely because the latter is supported by such ancient codices as the Alexandrine and Sinaitic, but also because the former reading favors the asceticism of the early days and the monkish doctrine that heaven may be won by good works.

It is to be remembered, that these rules and all others of a similar character, are only to be applied as adjuncts to other testimony of a more decided nature. The value of the manuscripts themselves and the pecu-

liarities of each are to be well considered. "Context, parallels, historical circumstances, an intimate acquaintance with the characteristic developments of sentiment, phraseology, constructions, use of particles, &c., in each particular writer," * are to accompany the application of such rules. Indeed they are generally subordinate to external evidence and are to be used to turn the scale, when such external considerations seem to balance each other.

Turning now to special examples of criticism, the attention should be directed first to the vast multitude of passages in which the corrections are so slight as to be of almost no importance. Were it not for this comparative little value of the great majority of the variations, the devout student might well be concerned for the foundations of his faith, since, as has already been remarked, the whole number of the various readings that have been noted is no less than one hundred and twenty thousand. But when it is known that the slight difference of a single letter in a word, which does not alter the sense of that word in the slightest degree, occurs in hundreds of instances, it will be seen that the only wonder in the case should be with regard to the extreme accuracy with which these manuscripts have been compared. As an example of such variations, the Vatican manuscript always spells the verb *to judge* with a diphthong in the first syllable of the Greek word, *κρίνειν* instead of *κρίνειν*. It is but the introduction of the single letter e, and does not affect the meaning in a single passage; and yet it occurs in more

* Davidson, Bib. Crit. p. 825.

than a hundred places in the New Testament, and has been marked as offering just so many variations of B from other codices. The name of the beloved disciple, John, occurring more than one hundred and thirty times, is spelled sometimes with one n, as Jôanes, and sometimes with two, Joannes. The different arrangement of the words of a sentence, the use, or the lack, of the small particle *δέ* or *αὐ*, the employment of the word Lord for God and similar substitutions, illustrate the many unimportant variations in reading, which, however, the careful eye of the critic has noted in nearly every case. It is unnecessary to give examples of these readings. Even where they occur it is usually the case, that there is no doubt concerning the true form of the original. Prof. Arnold says: "At least fifty-nine out of sixty of these various readings may be at once dismissed from the account, as not having sufficiently respectable MS. support to entitle them to any notice. There are not more than from fifteen hundred to two thousand places in which there is any uncertainty whatever as to the true text . . . and of this last limited number only a small fraction affect the sense of Scripture to the apprehension of any but the most critical reader. And of those which do perceptibly affect the sense, there are hardly a dozen of any doctrinal importance." The same testimony might be repeated from the pages of Bentley, Davidson, Tregelles, Scrivener, and many other critics of the first rank.

If, however, it should appear to any that the science of Biblical criticism and the preservation and collation

of the manuscripts are reduced to little value on this account, two things should be remembered, and it will then appear that the work done in this department of learning is of inestimable value. *First*, it must be borne in mind, *that even these trivial differences in the manuscript authorities for the Scriptures could never have been known to be such*, without all this care and labor. This fact alone makes the story of the manuscripts of the first importance, and calls for the gratitude of the Christian world toward the scholars who have devoted their lives to listening so attentively to even the minutest details that these ancient documents have had to tell. And, *second*, these unimportant variations do not complete the number of discrepancies, but leave many passages of more serious importance, though not of such weight in any case as to invalidate doctrine taught elsewhere in the Scriptures. It is to the consideration of a few of these passages that we now turn. In adducing the evidence for certain readings many authorities are referred to by their appropriate symbols, which it has been impossible to assign a place in the preceding pages, or even to name; but it is hoped that the reader will not be perplexed by such references, since the only object in offering these examples of criticism is to show the course of argument, and the general grounds upon which decisions are reached.

The first passage that may illustrate the appeal to the manuscripts is one of those instances in which it is doubtful whether the original ever had the words contained in our received text. It is the doxology, placed

in our English version and in the text of our Greek Testaments at the close of the Lord's Prayer in St. Matthew's Gospel.

Matt. vi. 13: "*For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever, Amen.*"

These words are not found in St. Luke's Gospel (xi. 2-4), and the question would perhaps arise in the mind even of a reader of the English, whether they had been dropped out of the passage in the third Gospel by some mistake, or whether they are an unwarranted addition to the first Gospel; though it would certainly be recognized as possible, that as in many another case of parallel passages the really unimportant variation might have stood in the original writings themselves. But what do the ancient manuscripts say? Upon reference to them it is found that the Codices **N**, **B**, and **D**, and the palimpsest **Z** omit the words in Matthew, while **A** and **C** bear no testimony, because they are defective in this place. Codex **L** of the seventh century is the best uncial authority in favor of the words, though all the later uncials agree with **L** in giving the passage. The Queen of the Cursives, 33, has the words, and all but a few of the cursives add their favorable testimony. If the Versions are asked to bear witness, we find that the principal copies of the Old Latin, and the Vulgate, are without the passage, but all the Syriac versions, most of the copies of both the Egyptian versions, a few Old Latin codices, the *Æthiopic*, *Armenian*, and several other less important translations, have it. In some of these affirmative manuscripts, however, there

seems to be a significant hesitancy, for a part of the doxology is cut out by one, and another part by another. The Curetonian Syriac, for example, omits "and the power;" the Thebaic omits "and the glory;" and the Old Latin *k*, "the kingdom and the glory." Very significant is the silence of Origen (230) and Cyril of Jerusalem (350), both giving a thorough exposition of the prayer but without mentioning this clause. But Chrysostom (398) includes it, without any remark as to its doubtfulness, in his comments. Other evidence might be adduced but without altering the balance of the argument. What is that balance? We have found that the greatest uncial authority is decidedly in favor of omitting the words, with only later uncials and the cursives against it. The Versions have been found, perhaps pretty evenly divided, with the evidence, however, in some of the best affirmative cases of a hesitating character. Origen and Cyril have refused their support: Chrysostom, somewhat later, has given his voice for the passage. It will be remembered that Canon V, quoted on page 167, decides against doubtful passages which are suspected of having been introduced in accordance with known prejudices, and it is in this case certain, that the liturgies in use among Christians at a very early date made frequent employment of doxologies almost identical with the words in question, and the conclusion seems most natural, that from such outside sources they may have become attached to the words of the prayer and finally been incorporated in the text. Even with the limited discussion thus given we cannot be

surprised when we find the doxology omitted by nearly all the great editors, among whom Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Davidson, Scrivener, Alford, and many German and English scholars of our own day are conspicuous.

Another passage may illustrate how that, which was probably a mere annotation in the margin at first, will sometimes become interpolated into the text and remain there perhaps for centuries, accepted by all readers as an integral part of it. It is: —

Matt. xxvii. 35: “*That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, they parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture did they cast lots.*”

These words are found substantially in John xix. 24, and the passage from which the words were taken (“in order that the Scripture might be fulfilled”) is the Messianic Psalm xxii. 18. Not a single uncial manuscript previous to the Sangallensis, *A* of the ninth century, has the words in Matthew. *A*, *B*, *D*, *E*, *F*, *G*, *H*, *K*, *L*, *M*, *S*, *U*, *V*, declare against them by their omission; all the cursives but ten also omit them; a number of the evangelistaria are without them; the Peshito has them only as an interpolation by a late editor, and all the Syriac codices reject them, except the Philoxenian text, though even here a marginal note is against them; they are not in the Arabic of the Polyglot, the Memphitic, the Thebaic, Æthiopic, or Slavonic; and Origen, Chrysostom, Augustine, Hilary, Titus of Bostra, Theophylact, and other authors and commentators make no mention of them. Against this great array of testimony for omission the

argument in support seems very weak. As already said, Codex *A* of the ninth century has the words. Many cursives too contain them, from one of which, Codex 1, used by Erasmus at Basle in the preparation of his New Testament in 1516, the passage crept into the published text. The manuscripts of the Vulgate generally omit it, though the Codex Amiatinus has it, and the various translations made from the Vulgate preserve it. It will be remembered that Canon II. (page 166) demands a consideration for the style of the writer, and Scholz calls attention to the fact, that Matthew alone uses the formula *ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ἐρηθέν* ("that the word that was spoken might be fulfilled"), while one Latin version seems to indicate that the Greek from which it was made had *διὰ* instead of *ἐν* (*"through the prophet"* instead of *"by the prophet"*) which is also conformable to Matthew's custom. But when all is said that can be urged in favor of retaining the words, it is evident that the negative testimony is overwhelming, and all the great editors stand together in the rejection of the passage. The probability is patent to every one, that the words of the parallel passage in John xix. 24 were first written in the margin of Matthew opposite the verse, whence they were removed by some copyist to the body of the text itself.

The two examples thus given are passages which are detected as never forming a part of the original text, and therefore to be rejected. A third may be added which has arisen out of a doubtful position into one of comparative certainty as a genuine part of the original text. It is:—

Luke xxii. 43, 44. "*And there appeared an angel unto him from heaven, strengthening him. And being in an agony he prayed more earnestly, and his sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground.*" The great critic Lachmann included the words in parentheses, as doubtful, and others have agreed with him; but in later days further evidence has been brought to light, notably the Sinaitic manuscript **Σ**, which has changed the verdict. It was found that A, B, R, T, among uncials, were without the words, a few important cursives omitted them, one Old Latin f, and most of the Memphitic, Thebaic, and Armenian versions, while Hilary and Jerome unite in saying that many Greek and Latin manuscripts want the passage, so that even so early as these fathers it was suspected. But on the affirmative side are **Σ**, D, L, Q, and the cursive 1, all the Syriac versions, most of the Old Latin, the Vulgate, the Æthiopic, and several codices of the Egyptian translations. It is remarked, too, that even in A, which omits verses 43 and 44, the Ammonian section and Eusebian canon are placed at the end of verse 42, wholly improperly, showing that the copyist probably knew of the omitted passage. To these points Scrivener* adds the testimony of Lectionaries, which transfer the verses to the Gospel of Matthew (xxvi. 39), giving indirect support to them as a part of the text, and, as against the Fathers mentioned above, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Dionysius of Alexandria, Gregory of Nazianzum, Chrysostom, and

* Six Lectures, p. 151.

others are named. It seems, therefore, that the evidence in favor of the retention of the passage is emphatic; and the beautiful verses, which have no parallel passage in the other Gospels, still present their picture of the agony in the garden without any dark clouds of doubt to obscure it and so lessen its precious value to the church.

It is by similar processes of appeal to these ancient documents that the story of the woman taken in adultery (John vii. 53 to viii. 11), is expunged from the Greek text by many editors, while all agree, almost without exception, that the famous passage of The Three Witnesses (1 John v. 7, 8) should also be omitted. The close of Mark, however, which Tischendorf believes must have been written by a later hand, from the ninth verse to the end, Scrivener and others retain as probably a part of the original text. Perhaps these instances have been enough to show the general method of criticism employed, though there has been no attempt to expose the nicer points which the experts in this line of study can alone appreciate and decide. But there is a single passage that may be quoted in addition, as a marked instance of the way in which a great question may sometimes turn upon a very slight difference in the text, and which may illustrate the demand for extreme skill upon the part of critics as well as the possibility of an honest difference of opinion as the result of their labors. It is:—

1 Timothy iii. 16: *"And without controversy great is the mystery of godliness; God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached*

unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory."

The question is: Does the verse read *God* was manifest, or *who* was manifest, or *which* was manifest? The Greek expression is very nearly the same in either case. If the word God were written in full it would be ΘEOC , but it was the custom to abbreviate the names of the Deity in these manuscripts, the contraction being indicated by a line drawn over the letters thus brought together. This word would then be written $\overline{\Theta C}$, with the omission of the two middle letters. It happens, however, that the Greek relative pronoun *who* is written OC , and the neuter is O . It is evident, therefore, that only the disappearance of the fine lines in the first word, the one drawn over the letters and the other drawn in the first letter to change it from O to Θ (from o to th) would be necessary to give us the masculine pronoun, while on the other hand these slight marks could be added to the masculine pronoun to give the name of the Deity. As for the neuter pronoun O , it is found to have so little authority that it need not be considered further in this brief statement. But $\overline{\Theta C}$ and OC have much in their favor. The Codex A, at present, has the former, but the horizontal lines are the addition of a later hand in heavy strokes and ink of a different color from that of the text. This only throws the question back to the time previous to the addition. Were the marks there before, and these coarse lines drawn over them, or not? Evidently there is room for the greatest skill and the most honest doubt in such a case. Accordingly the

greatest critics have been unable to feel wholly certain as to the testimony of A, and the same is also to be said of C. As for Codex B, it will be remembered (p. 69) that the Epistles to Timothy are wanting. The Sinaitic manuscript, however, is not doubtful. Its text has the pronoun *OC*, *who*, but the corrector has added above the line the two Greek letters *θε*, thereby suggesting the other reading without tampering with the text itself. A few later uncials, and a very large number of cursives, read "God." The testimony of the Fathers is generally in favor of this reading. The preponderance of opinion among editors is upon the side of the reading "who." Dr. Davidson says: "We believe a fair case to be made out, as far as the present state of the evidence warrants, in favor of *ὁς* (who). But the general sense is not materially different, whether we read *ὁς*, *ὁ*, or *Θεός*. The meaning is much the same, whichever be adopted. Hence we cannot enter into the reasons of such as believe the text to be very important in a theological view. It is by no means decisive either for or against the proper divinity of Christ." With these words we may leave the passage, since it was referred to not for the presentation of a full discussion, but only as illustrative of the difficulties often raised by very slight differences in the text.

Such are only two or three of the great number of passages in which the discovery and use of ancient manuscripts have been of great value in determining the true text of the New Testament. To have attempted to present more would have been entirely

beyond the scope of the present work, and even the incomplete discussions of the last few pages could not have been extended without exceeding the purposes of the chapter. It has been sufficient to give a general idea of the application of the ancient materials and of a few of the broader principles of criticism to the Received Text by which a correct reading of the New Testament is secured.

CHAPTER XII.

THE GREAT CRITICS.

THE list of the great scholars who have devoted themselves to the department of sacred learning with which the subject of these pages is connected, is a long one,—far too long for us to do more than sketch the lives of a few, who in modern times have contributed much to our knowledge of the sacred text.

“*Agmen ducit Carolus Lachmannus*” writes Scrivener in the preface to his Greek New Testament, when he turns away from the earlier editors to speak of the men of the later era of criticism, whose readings he quotes upon the margin of his pages. KARL LACHMANN does indeed lead the whole company of modern scholars in this department of study, for, as it has already been remarked, he was the first to proclaim freedom from the received text, and to demand not only the right, but the necessity of going back to the text indicated by the most ancient and authoritative documents themselves. He was born at Brunswick, in Germany, March 4, 1793, and received his education at the universities of Leipzig and Göttingen, and at the latter place he founded a philological society in connection with Schulze and Bunsen. Philological pursuits were his choice, and he at once devoted himself to his favorite studies with such zeal that he soon won dis-

tion and advanced to the first rank among critical scholars. After a short military service in the struggle against Napoleon by the Allies, from 1813 to 1815, he returned to his books, and was appointed Professor Extraordinary at Königsberg in 1818 and at Berlin in 1825. His residence at Berlin proved to be for life; he became Ordinary Professor in 1828, and was honored by admission to the Academy of Sciences in 1830. From the year 1816 to the year of his death, 1851, his literary labors were incessant, and he published many valuable editions of Greek and Latin and German classics. His greatest work, however, was that which places his name among those of Biblical scholars. In 1831 his edition of the Greek New Testament appeared. The readings for this work were determined by reference to the oldest Greek codices which he could obtain, and also to the quotations of the Greek Fathers, with the frequent use of the earliest Latin when the Greek readings were discordant. A second edition made more use of the Latin. His work was based upon comparatively few manuscripts, but its great value is recognized even to-day. The *plan* of his work, however, was perhaps of even greater importance than its results in his text itself. He was a general, who marked out a new campaign that was destined to be most successful. His part, according to his own conception of it, was that of a pioneer, and those who have followed in his footsteps, however great they have been themselves, have owed much to his boldness in laying open the new path. Lachmann died on the thirteenth of March, 1851.

LOBEGOTT FRIEDRICH CONSTANTIN TISCHENDORF was born January 18, 1815, in Lengenfeld, Germany, the ninth child of his parents, who named him Lobegott, or Praise-God, with especial thankfulness that a strange fear of the mother, that her babe would be born blind, had not come true. The child was destined to have such a remarkably keen sight as to enable him to see in many instances what no others could detect. He was instructed first in the common school at Lengenfeld, whence he went to the gymnasium at Plauen to prepare for the university. In 1834 he entered upon his studies at Leipzig, where he remained until graduation. His great career may be said to have had its beginning even while he was a student at Leipzig. Here he gained a prize medal for an essay on "The Doctrine of the Apostle Paul as to the Value of Christ's Death as a Satisfaction." The essay was published in 1837, and brought the writer prominently before the public. Already the preferences of his mind for Biblical studies were evident. Attempts in other directions, however, were to form a lighter prelude to the stronger work of his life. At Christmas in 1837 he printed a volume of poems, "Maiknospen," or "May Buds," and two years afterwards a novel, "Der junge Mystiker," "The Young Mystic," which he published under the pseudonym of Dr. Fritz. A little time was spent in teaching after his graduation, but he soon went back to Leipzig with the express design of preparing an edition of the New Testament.

Professor Kahnis, in a retrospect of the life of Tischendorf, notes that the day on which the distinguished

scholar was born was named Felicitas in the calendar, and certainly it seems as if the happiest fortune ruled over his career from the moment of his earliest devotion to Biblical pursuits. His pre-eminent abilities and untiring energy met with a multitude of circumstances to favor their application. One exception, however, must be made. He was poor. It was with the utmost difficulty, particularly in the earlier part of his career, that he could obtain sufficient means to prosecute his studies and at the same time support life. But he did not allow his poverty to divert him from his purpose, and he pushed onward, with the utmost boldness, where many a man would have been appalled by a lack of resources. In 1840 he published an essay on Matt. xix. 16, and a dissertation in which he attacked the principles of criticism that had been advocated by Scholz, an eminent scholar, whose preference had been given to manuscripts of the later rather than the earlier dates. This work attracted much attention by its ability. In 1841 the first edition of his Greek Testament appeared at Leipzig. Now came the time for his researches among the manuscripts themselves, and by great exertions he was enabled to raise money enough to begin his journeys among the libraries of Europe. A grant of one hundred thalers for two successive years from the government of Saxony, and a loan effected upon the security of his life-insurance policy, enabled him to set out for Paris in 1840, "so poor," however, "that he could not pay for the cloak that he wore." At Paris he began work at once upon the Ephraem palimpsest, as described upon a previous

page. Then followed the collation and publication of many other manuscripts, and through many years a steady stream of publications, which cannot be mentioned in detail, gave proof of his wonderful genius and diligence. The mere enumeration of his books and essays would occupy many of these pages. Eight years in all were occupied by journeys in Europe and the East, searching the libraries of monasteries and churches for their hidden treasures. In the intervals of these travels he would return to Leipzig and toil with almost fabulous endurance upon the many works, which his active mind had conceived during his absence, or which grew out of labors previously undertaken. The deciphering of manuscripts, the publication of facsimiles, performing his official duties in the university, the writing of essays of almost every kind for periodicals, now and then a popular book like his "Journeys in the East," or his "When were our Gospels written?"—the successive editions of his New Testament until the eighth *critica major* was almost completed previous to his death, twenty-two editions in all of his New Testament,—such labors as these filled up the years, leaving hardly any space for rest in all his over-burdened life.

The great scholar was not without many delights, however, which came to him both in the fact of his successes themselves, and in the honors that were heaped upon him in consequence of them. His joy in the discovery of the Sinaitic manuscript can hardly be imagined, and to his enthusiastic disposition every triumph of his long labors must have brought a more

than ordinary exultation. A great number of friends gave him the pleasure always arising from contact with those highly endowed in intellect or having the advantages of power. And in addition to these things honors were bestowed upon him which rarely fall to the lot of even the most distinguished students. He was early the recipient of academic dignities. At the University of Leipzig he was made Privat-docent in 1840, Extraordinary Professor in 1845, Ordinary Honorary Professor in 1851, and Ordinary Professor of Theology in 1859. The degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on him by the University of Cambridge, and that of Doctor of Civil Law by the University of Oxford. A great many societies elected him to honorary membership. "His titles fill half a page," wrote one of his critics, rather spitefully. Monarchs decorated him with orders of knighthood. He was made Privy-Councillor by the King of Saxony. And in 1869 an imperial ukase gave him the rank of an hereditary noble of the Russian Empire. This honor was recognized in Germany, and he was known by his countrymen as *Constantin von Tischendorf*. In speaking of these rewards of his eminent service, Professor Ezra Abbot remarks that "freedom from vanity was not his most conspicuous virtue, and it may be that he valued somewhat too highly such titles and distinctions; but who shall say that he did not richly deserve them all?"

In his will, written in 1863, Tischendorf himself wrote: "God has bestowed on me a happy life, richly adorned by his blessing. Trouble and toil it has been,

but it was to me in truth precious. May God put His blessing also on that which I leave to posterity: it is His own work. My hand has served only Him, according to my best knowledge and conviction, even though in all weakness. In science I pursued no other aim than the truth; to it I have unconditionally bowed the knee; I never subordinated my conviction to applause on the right hand or the left. I have purposed and sought only that which serves truth and the kingdom of the Lord."*

It was in the midst of his labors that he was stricken down by apoplexy on the fifth of May, 1873. For more than a year he lingered with his family, and was cheered by the greetings that came to him from his many friends near and far. Death came upon the seventh of December, 1874, and he who was at once a great scholar and a simple-hearted Christian, went away to receive his honors from his Lord.

A distinguished American scholar, resident in Leipzig, and at present intrusted with important work connected with Tischendorf's labors, Dr. Caspar René Gregory, writes thus: "If greatness consists in the unwearying pursuit of one idea, Tischendorf was great. If greatness consists in persistent and successful application to the study of difficult things, Tischendorf was great. If greatness consists in surmounting hindrances and prejudices, scholastic, religious, and national, Tischendorf was great. If greatness consists

* From a Retrospect of the Life of Tischendorf, by Dr. K. F. A. Kahnis, translated from the German by George H. Whittemore, Baptist Quarterly, July, 1876.

in the acquaintance with the use of, and the turning to general advantage of, the chief literary treasures of Europe and the nearer East, Tischendorf was great. If greatness consists in earning the gratitude of the scholars of all lands, Tischendorf was great. And if greatness consists in a participation alike in the favor of prince and scholar, of state and of church, Tischendorf was great."

Very different in its quiet and retired course was the life of the great English critic, SAMUEL PRIDEAUX TREGELLES. Born only two years earlier and dying only four months later than Tischendorf, his labors covered almost exactly the same period as those of the great German. Tregelles was born at Falmouth, England, on the thirtieth of January, 1813. His father, a merchant, and his mother were members of the Society of Friends, and the child was reared amid the quiet scenes of the Quaker community. In maturer life he did not adhere closely to the faith and practices of the religious body to which his parents belonged, but at one time shared the views of the Plymouth Brethren, and afterwards worshipped with the Presbyterians. His education was that of the Falmouth Classical School, surely not so extended as to warrant the supposition that he would ever become so famous as a scholar. After his school-days were over he was for six years in the iron-works at Neath Abbey, and in 1835 found more congenial occupation in the duties of a private tutor at Falmouth. From this time his genius for the pursuits of a scholar was rapidly devel-

oped. He applied himself with ardor to the study of the Oriental languages, and at the age of twenty-five he had already determined to prepare a critical edition of the Greek New Testament. To accomplish this work was henceforth the great aim of his life. Three journeys to the Continent were made, in order to study the principal manuscripts at Paris and other places. He collated many uncial and cursive codices, rendering thus an important service to Biblical scholarship, but he edited only one, the Codex Zacynthius, a palimpsest of great value, containing a large part of the Gospel of St. Luke. Several works of much merit appeared from his pen, in addition to these labors, among which were an "Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament, with Remarks on its Revision upon Critical Principles," and his "Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament," printed as the fourth volume of Horne's Introduction. But his life-work, the edition of the New Testament itself, stands at the head of the list in importance. It was issued in parts, the first of which appeared in 1857 and the last in 1872, only three years before his death.

It is sad to contrast the circumstances under which Tregelles labored, with those which surrounded Tischendorf. We have seen how the latter's poverty at the beginning of his career gave place to comparative ease and comfort in his work, as the assistance of great and powerful friends was brought to him. Tregelles on the other hand was sick and poor always. Lord Palmerston placed his name on the Civil List in 1862, with

a grant of £100 a year, which was doubled by Mr. Gladstone in 1870; but this was the only substantial recognition of his services by the country which he adorned. Honors did not cluster around him as about his German cotemporary. The University of St. Andrew's gave him its highest literary degree, making him Doctor of Laws,—but the example of this Scottish University was not followed by the English institutions of similar grade. He was not a University man! His severe and long continued labors increased the natural weakness of his frame. His eye-sight, never very strong, grew dim in his later years and wholly failed him a considerable time before his death, making all literary toil impossible except the completion of his New Testament. Even at an early day after the publication of the first part of the New Testament, a stroke of paralysis disabled him. And so all through his many and successful labors, illness and straitened circumstances made his task peculiarly difficult, and it was only by the most patient devotion that it was finally accomplished. He died at Plymouth on the twenty-fourth of April, 1875.

Tregelles has been assigned by some scholars a place between Lachmann and Tischendorf in the character of his work, and, according to his own descriptions of it, his text is based at once upon a wider range of evidence than Lachmann's, and a narrower principle of investigation than Tischendorf's, in that the latter did not so strictly adhere to the very ancient evidence of manuscripts and versions and the Fathers as Tregelles did. The English scholar has indeed been severely

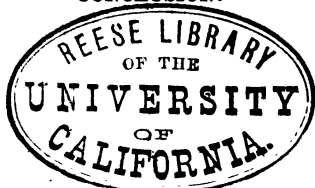
criticized for ignoring some sources of information employed by the great Germans and others, but the most able judges have agreed in placing the text of his New Testament as among the best, and appealing to it as freely as to the work of Lachmann or Tischendorf. The results of the life-work of Tregelles are indeed to be regarded as of priceless value to Christendom.

Many honored names must be passed in silence in these pages, or with the mere reverential utterance of their syllables, as the eminent services of the scholars press upon us for recognition. Dean Alford, and Canon Westcott, and Dr. F. J. A. Hort, — the two latter still toiling together upon an edition of the Greek Testament, which has been eagerly expected during many years by all Biblical scholars, — and a few eminent Americans, with Dr. Ezra Abbot of Cambridge at their head, have bestowed a wealth of service upon the lovers of Truth in their labors upon the text of the Scriptures. But there is yet one name that stands pre-eminent over those of living students in this department of learning which must receive fuller mention. It is the name so often written in these pages, that of

FREDERICK HENRY AMBROSE SCRIVENER. He was born at Bermondsey, England, September 29, 1813, and completed his academic studies at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1835. It will be noted that his birth occurred in the same year as that of Tregelles, and so very near to the time of the birth of Tischendorf, — so richly was our age to be supplied with these devoted searchers after the Truth. Scrivener was employed

for several years after his graduation as a teacher in classical schools, and such labors have always been congenial to his tastes. He was first an assistant master of the king's school at Sherborne; in 1839 he became curate of Sandford Orcas in Somerset; in 1846 he was made head-master of Falmouth School, and in Falmouth from 1846 to 1861, besides holding this position he had charge of one of the churches; in 1861 he was made rector of St. Gerrans in Cornwall, where he continued to reside until within a short time. He is now in London, N. W., Hendon Vicarage, and it is to be hoped that the labors which have hitherto been somewhat impeded by occupations not specially lucrative, and at places remote from the centres of learning, may now be pursued with the more ease and with greater benefits to the scholar himself. With whatsoever increased advantages the great critic may now be surrounded, it is hardly possible to hope that the successes of his toil will be much greater for the world than they have already been. His Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament is considered by eminent judges to be the best now in existence, and his collations of manuscripts, especially of those deposited in England, are most valuable. A "*Novum Testamentum Græcum*," published in 1860 and in a second edition in 1867, with the text of Stephens and the various readings of Beza, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, and others, has found a wide acceptance. Many other valuable publications have issued from his pen, and doubtless the world has yet many a treasure awaiting it in his skilled and generous hand. It is

gratifying to know that the English government, as in the case of Tregelles, has also recognized the labors of this scholar, and in 1872 granted him a pension in "recognition of his services in connection with Biblical criticism." Dr. Scrivener has been an ardent champion of the claims of the cursive manuscripts, and his attitude toward the Received Text has always been conservative.



CHAPTER XIII.

CONCLUSION.

DR. TREGELLES, at the close of the introductory note to the last part of his New Testament, wrote as follows:—"It is with exceeding satisfaction and thankfulness that I am able to put the last part of my Greek Testament into the hands of subscribers, thereby finishing my responsibility in connection with so much of God's Word, a work which has only deepened my apprehension of its divine authority."

It is a conclusion that is a logical result of the study of the Scriptures; and in no department of Biblical research does that result follow more surely than in the work of the critic of the text. On the one hand a godless skepticism may assail the Bible, as a mere human production, full of faults and quite unworthy of belief; on the other, a blind bigotry may demand for it even in its most imperfect translations a worship which may well be called idolatry: but the calm student steps between the contending factions and simply asks: "What is the Bible?" Through many years of patient study, in which the testimony of the ages is gathered up and brought to bear upon the question, he pursues his task until the very sources of Christianity are reached, and at the close of his quest

and as the result of a life's work he exclaims: "The apprehension has grown into a certainty—the Scriptures are the Word of God and of divine authority!" He has traced the river back to the hillside spring and has seen the water welling up from deeps unapproachable. And the reasonable, the inevitable conclusion is that which he has written. Speculation has no province here. What are facts? The utmost reverence cannot stop with a mere assertion that the translation so beloved in our English tongue is the perfect expression of what was first written. The boldest opposition on the other hand dare not deny, merely upon the basis of what is confessedly imperfect. From every side arises the serious demand for *what was really said* by Prophet and Apostle. As in the wilderness of old all the warfare between Satan and the Christ began and ended with the words: IT STANDS WRITTEN,—so here the appeal is to the real Scripture, and he only will win the day in the interest of truth, who follows that first Conqueror and quotes truly what God has said. The one end and aim of all criticism is to find what was written. And every step of the way, which has brought the investigator near to the beginnings of Christianity has only revealed the more fully, that in that first time men wrote as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. The autographs are gone. The truth once given to men, they were to care for it as for any other treasure. The supreme value of this blessing, however, the very nature of the gift itself, as well as the over-watching influence of the Holy One, led the happy possessors to take extraordinary means for its

preservation. No other writings of all the world have ever found such exceeding care. Yet the copies of the originals must, in the very nature of things, have errors. Copies of copies might correct, or increase, these faults. But with all opportunities for mistake, with all the casualties incident to the passage of centuries, *the one great fact remains*, that by some means, let us say by the Divine Care and the human effort combined, we are able to speak of The Word of God to-day with a certainty, a definiteness, which can be applied to no other writing whatsoever. The Christian does not hide in haunts of ignorance. Science shows, that we *know*, by all evidence that can be desired, what was taught by the mouth of the Lord's Apostles. And if in a few instances the question is not yet fully settled as to the exact words which the first manuscripts must have contained, it is nevertheless true, that in the vast majority of the places that have ever been considered doubtful, a degree of certainty has been attained upon which the most captious critic ought to rest.

But more than this: the study of the ancient sources of knowledge concerning the text of the New Testament has demonstrated, that even the current translations in the English language are wholly trustworthy for all Christian doctrine. Dr. Davidson writes: "No new doctrines have been elicited. Critics, with all their research, have not been able to show that the common text (the Textus Receptus, from which the current English version is made), varies essentially from what they now recommend as coming

nearest to its earliest form. We may boldly challenge the opponent of the Bible to show that the book has been materially corrupted Let the illiterate reader of the New Testament take comfort by learning that the received text to which he is accustomed is substantially the same as that which men of the greatest learning, the most unwearied research, and the severest studies, have found in a prodigious heap of documents." And the great English scholar, Bentley, in a discourse often quoted, says: "The real text of the sacred writers does not now lie in any MS. or edition, but is dispersed in them all. 'Tis competently exact, indeed, in the worst MSS. now extant; nor is one article of faith, or moral precept, either perverted or lost in them; choose as awkwardly as you will, choose the worst, by design, out of the whole lump of readings even put them into the hands of a knave or fool, and yet with the most sinistrous and absurd choice he shall not extinguish the light of any one chapter, nor so disguise Christianity but that every feature of it will still be the same." It will be easy, perhaps, for opponents of the Bible to offer an unstudious criticism against its statements here or there; but it is worthy of remark that all the great scholars whose lives have been devoted to textual research and whose names have been rendered forever famous by their labors, are unanimous in their reverence for its truth; while their very labors themselves are a testimony to their convictions of the supreme value of the original Word. They show us the wonder that our text is so correct, considering the antiquity of the

documents, and they express unhesitatingly their faith that the Bible was never made merely by man, but that God was its Inspirer, and that it speaks for Him. Their work has been most important. The Church is the stronger to-day because the strength of her bulwarks has been proved to her. The most ancient Scriptures, the most modern criticism, have united to show her, that now with a firmer faith than ever before, she may face her foes with the unfailing weapon :

"IT IS WRITTEN."

APPENDIX.

LIST OF THE UNCIALS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

FOURTH CENTURY.

SINAITICUS, Sign **N**, described page 97. The only uncial of the New Testament entire.

VATICANUS 1209, Sign **B**, described page 67.

FIFTH CENTURY.

ALEXANDRINUS, Sign **A**, described page 58.

EPHRAEMI, Sign **C**, described page 101.

GUELPHERBYTANUS, Sign **Q**, described page 116.

BORGIANUS, I., Sign **T**, at Rome, in two fragments, **T** and **T^{wo}**, containing parts of Luke and John. The two parts have been reckoned as one MS. though they really belong to separate codices.

TISCHENDORFIANUS II., Sign **I**, at St. Petersburg, three fragments, 1, 2, 3, containing verses from Matt., Mark, John, Acts, 1 Cor., and Titus.

MUSEI BRITANNICI, Sign **P**, at London, fragments of John's Gospel.

MS. *without name*, Sign **Q**, at St. Petersburg, parts of 1 Cor. i. vi. vii.

SIXTH CENTURY.

BEZAE, Sign **D**, described page 117.

GUELPHERBYTANUS A., Sign **P**, contains 486 verses from Gospels.

- NITRIENSIS, Sign R, London, fragments of Luke. See page 111.
- DUBLINENSIS, Sign Z, at Dublin, 290 verses of Matt. See page 114.
- LAUDIANUS, Sign E^A, at Oxford, Acts almost entire. See page 126.
- CLAROMONTANUS, Sign D^P, Paris, Paul's Epistles except 22 verses. See page 124.
- COISLINIANUS, Sign H^P, in five parts deposited at Paris, St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Mount Athos. See page 132.
- TISCHENDORFIANUS II., Sign I, at St. Petersburg, fragments 4 and 5, containing verses of Matt., Luke, and John.
- MS. *without name*, Sign T, at St. Petersburg, two parts T¹ and T², a few verses of Matt. and John.
- MS. *without name*, at St. Petersburg, in five parts, Signs Θ¹, Θ², Θ³, Θ⁴, Θ⁵ containing portions of Matt., Mark, and John.
- MS. *without name*, Sign O^P, at St. Petersburg, one double leaf containing 2 Cor. i. 20–ii. 12.
- MS. *without name*, Sign O^S, at Moscow, Eph. iv. 1–18. with omissions.
- PURPUREUS, Sign N, at London, Rome, Vienna, and Patmos, containing parts of the Gospels. See page 128.
- ROSSANENSIS, Sign Σ, described page 145.

SEVENTH CENTURY.

- TISCHENDORFIANUS I., Sign Θ^A, Leipzig, fragments of Matt.
- COISLINIANUS I., Sign F^A, at Paris, small fragments from Gospels and Epistles. Not one has more than two consecutive verses.
- TISCHENDORFIANUS II., Sign I, at St. Petersburg, fragments 6 and 7, a few verses from Acts.
- MS. *without name*, Sign T^A, at Rome, parts of Matt., Mark, and John.
- MS. *without name*, Sign G^A, at St. Petersburg, Acts ii. 45–iii. 8.
- CRYPTOFERRATENSIS Z. β. 1., Sign R^P, at Monastery of Grotta Ferrata; 2 Cor. xi. 9–19.

EIGHTH CENTURY.

BASILIENSIS, Sign E, at Basle; the four Gospels with a few omissions in Luke.

REGIUS, Sign L, at Paris; the Gospels with omissions.

ZACYNTHIUS, Sign Z, at London; parts of Luke.

VATICANUS 2066, Sign B^a, at Rome; the Revelation entire.

BARBERINI, Sign Y, at Rome; six leaves containing 137 verses of John

REGIUS 314, Sign W^a, at Paris; Luke ix. 34-37; x. 12-22.

MS. without name, Sign W^b, at Naples; fragments of Matt., Mark, and Luke.

MS. without name, Sign W^c; three leaves containing Mark ii. 8-16, Luke i. 20-32, 64-79.

MOSQUENSIS, Sign V, at Moscow; larger part of four Gospels to John vii. 39.

MS. without name, Sign Θ^a, at St. Petersburg; Luke xi. 37-41, 42-45.

VATICANUS 9671, Sign R^a, at Rome; parts of Acts.

NINTH CENTURY.

RHENO TRAJECTINUS, Sign F, at Utrecht; Matt. ix. 1, to John xiii. 34, with many omissions.

CYPRIUS, Sign K, at Paris; Gospels entire.

CAMPIANUS, Sign M, at Paris; Gospels entire.

MONACENSIS, Sign X, at Munich; Gospels "with serious defects."

TISCHENDORFIANUS IV., Sign Γ, at Oxford and St. Petersburg; Gospels except 215 verses from Matt. and Mark.

SANGALLENSIS, Sign A, at Monastery of St. Gall; Gospels except John xix. 17-35.

BOERNERIANUS, Sign G^p, at Dresden; Epistles of Paul, with breaks.

AUGIENSIS, Sign F^p, at Cambridge; Epistle of Paul, with breaks.

TISCHENDORFIANUS III., Sign A, at Oxford; Luke and John, and subscription to Mark.

- PETROPOLITANUS, Sign *II*, at St. Petersburg; Gospels, with defects.
- PORFIRIANUS, Sign *P^{AP}*, at St. Petersburg; Acts, Epistles, Revelation, with defects.
- WOLFF B., Sign *H*, at Hamburg; Gospels, with defects.
- MUTINENSIS, Sign *H^A*, at Modena; the Acts with defects.
- BIBLIOTH. ANGLICÆ, A. 2, 15, Sign *L^A*, at Rome; part of Acts and Epistles.
- MOSQUENSIS S. S. 98, Sign *K^C*, at Moscow; Epistles with defects.
- RUBER, Sign *M^P*, at Hamburg and London; parts of Heb. and 1 and 2 Cor.
- MOSQUENSIS, 120, Sign *O*, at Moscow; seventeen verses of John.
- MS. *without name*, Sign *W^A*, at Cambridge; parts of Mark.
- MS. *without name*, Sign *W^B*, at Oxford; John iv. 9-14.
- MS. *without name*, Sign *Θ^B*, at St. Petersburg; nineteen verses of Matt.

TENTH CENTURY.

- HARLEIANUS, Sign *G*, at London and Cambridge; Gospels with omissions.
- VATICANUS 354, Sign *S*, at Rome; Gospels entire.
- NANIANUS, Sign *U*, at Venice; Gospels entire.
- SANGERMANENSIS, Sign *E^P*, at St. Petersburg; Epistles of Paul, with omissions.

NOTE.—For more detailed descriptions of these Uncials see the Tables prepared under Dr. E. Abbot's revision in Mitchell's *Critical Handbook*, and an article by Dr. Frederic Gardiner in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, April, 1875, with an accompanying diagram,—from which the above list is compiled. Of special value is the list in Dr. F. H. Scrivener's *Plain Introduction*.

INDEX.

- Abbot, Ezra, 10, 185, 190.
 Abitina, 17.
 Abyssinia, 160.
 Acts of Paul and Thecla, 60.
 Adrets, 118.
 Ædettus, 160.
 Ælfred, x.
 Ælfric, x.
 Aldhelm, x.
 Alexander, 150, 161.
 Alexander II, 96.
 Alexander of Jerusalem, 28.
 Alexandria, 29, 52, 85, 150, 152, 158.
 Alford, 73, 140, 158, 173, 190.
 Allix, 101, 102.
 Ammonian Sections, 42, 61, 98, 105, 119, 146.
 Ammonius, 42, 161.
 Anglo-Saxon Translations, ix.
 Antioch, 159.
 Antonelli, 73, 76.
 Antony, 160, 161.
 Aramean, 155.
 Arnold, A. N., 45, 169.
 Athanasius, 161.
 Athos, Mt., 29, 59, 99, 131, 139.
 Augustine, 173.
 Austin, 59.
 Authorized Version. See English Bible.
 Aymont, J., 125.
 Babylon, 155.
 Barnabas, Epistle of, 7, 94, 98.
 Barrett, 114, 115.
 Bartolocci, 71.
 Bashmurić. See *Version*.
 Basil, St., 144.
 Basle, xxiii, 53, 133.
 Beaumont, Francis, 118.
 Bede, x.
 Bengel, 165.
 Bentley, 54, 71, 102, 169, 196.
 Bessarion, 68.
 Bethlehem, 154.
 Beza, xxiv, 53, 117, 118, 121, 124, 171, 191.
 Bible, superior to other Scriptures, 2, 7.
 Divine-Human, 4.
 first printed, 35.
 how written, 5.
 inspired, 6, 18.
 trustworthy, 19.
 See *English Bible*.
 Biblical Criticism, 14, 51, 54.
 canons of, 165 sq.
 examples of, 171 sq.
 sources of, 16.
 value of, 170, 193.
 Bibliolatry, 3.
 Birch, 70.
 Blanchini, 70.
 Bleek, 158.
 Bodleian Library, xi, 45, 56, 60.
 Bologna, 122.
 Books, ancient, 23 sq., form of, 24, 25; materials, 25; valued, 30.
 Bradshaw, 131.
 British Museum, 24, 58, 112, 114, 128.
 Buddha, 3.
 Bunsen, 180.
 Burdett-Coutts, 32.
 Cædmon, x.
 Calabria, 29.
 Calamus, 139.
 Calligrapher, 27.
 Cambridge, xi, xiv, xix, 117, 118, 131.
 Canon, 6, 7, 12, 13.
 Canterbury, Convocation of, xxv, 153; Protest to Archbishop of, xxviii.
 Capperonier, 103.
 Carthage, 52, 152.
 Chark, W., 138.
 Charles I, 58, 66.

- Chrysostom**, 59, 131, 172, 173, 175.
Cilento, 145.
Classics, heathen, 21.
Clement XI, iii.
Clement of Rome, 7, 59.
Clement, T., 138.
Clermont, 121, 122.
Codex, 46.
 Alexandrinus, 58, 68, 69, 104, 167, 171.
 β , 121, 123.
 Bezae, 43, 117, 118, 158, 159, 171.
 Borgianus, 131.
 Carolinus, 116.
 Claromontanus, 124.
 Coislinianus, 132.
 Cursive 1, 133.
 " 13, 139.
 " 33, 136, 171.
 " 61, 137.
 " 69, 138.
 " 95, 139.
 " 124, 139.
 " 346, 139.
 Dublinensis, 114, 171.
 Ephraemi, 50, 79, 104, 115, 159, 171, 183.
 Friderico-Augustanus, 91, 92.
 Guelpherbytanus, 116.
 Laudianus, 43, 126.
 Leicestrensis, 138.
 Montfortianus, 137.
 Mosquensis, 131.
 Nitriensis, 113.
 Purpureus, 127.
 Regius, 127, 159, 171.
 Ruber, 130.
 Rossanensis, 29, 38, 48, 146.
 Sangallensis, 173.
 Sinaiticus, xxiv, 38, 39, 58, 69, 75, 78, 79, 88, 97, 105, 111, 118, 153, 165, 167, 171, 175, 184.
 Vaticanus, xxiv, 39, 58, 61, 67, 75, 88, 98, 105, 114, 117, 127, 153, 159, 165, 167, 168, 169, 171.
 W⁴, 131.
 Zacynthius, 188.
Coligni, 117.
Colinaeus, 53.
Communion, xxvii.
Complutum, 53.
Complutensian Text, xvii, xxiii, 73.
Condé, 117.
Confucius, 1, 3.
Constantine, 28, 84, 85.
Constantinople, 28, 29.
Constantius, 99.
Copyist, 27, 28.
Cotton, 128.
Council, of Ferrara and Florence, 68; of Nice, 69, 84; of Trent, 121, 122.
Coverdale, xvi, xvii.
Cozza, 77.
Cross, invention of, 84.
Cureton, 112, 113, 157.
Curetonian Syriac. See *Version*.
Cursives, 40, 132, 134.
Curzon, 139.
Cuthlac, x.
Cyprian, 59.
Cyprus, 29.
Cyril of Athos, 93.
Cyril of Jerusalem, 172.
Davidson, 15, 18, 61, 164, 167, 169, 173, 178, 195.
Damasus, 153, 154.
Diocletian, 17, 18.
Dionysius, 144.
Dublin, 114, 137.
Dupuy, 124.
Edessa, 155.
Edward VI, xvii.
Eichhorn, 134.
Elizabeth, xviii.
Elzevir, 53.
English Bible, opposition to, xiii, xv; first printed, xv. Revision of 1881. See *Revision*.
 Authorized or King James's, xix, xx, xxii, xxiv, xxv.
 Bishops', xviii, xix.
 Coverdale's, xvi, xix.
 Cranmer's, xvii.
 Douay, xviii.
 Genevan, xviii, xix, xxiv.
 Great, xvii, xviii, xix.
 Matthew's, xvi, xvii, xix.
 Rhemish, xviii.
 Taverner's, xvi.
 Tyndale's, xv, xvi, xix, xv, xxiii.
 Wyclif's, xii, xx.
Ephraem, 101, 103, 156.
Epiphanius, 59.
Erasmus, xvii, xxiii, 53, 133, 137, 138, 174.
Euclid, 113.
Eugenius IV, 68.
Eusebian Canons, 42, 69, 98, 105, 119, 146.
Eusebius, 28, 59, 85, 123.
Euthalius, 42, 43, 50, 62, 125.
Evangelistaria, 41.
Ewald, 158.
Fathers, 10, 51, 163.
Faust, 35.
Fleck, 103.
Frith, xvi.
Froy, 138.
Frumentius, 160.
Gaeta, 72.
Gebhardt, 144, 146.

- Geneva, xviii.
 Globertine Tincture, 103, 115.
 Gospels, Apocryphal, 7.
 Canonical, 10.
 Green, W., xxxiii.
 Gregory, C. R., 146.
 Gregory of Nazianzum, 59, 60, 115, 131, 175.
 Gregory XVI, 76.
 Griesbach, 54, 128, 157.
 Gutenberg, 35.

 Hamburg, xiv, 128.
 Harkel, 158.
 Harley, 125, 128.
 Harnack, 144, 146.
 Hayne, 138.
 Helena, 84.
 Herculanum Rolls, 34, 69.
 Herodotus, 22.
 Hilarianus, 17.
 Hilarion, 160.
 Hillary, 173, 175.
 Hippolytus, 144, 175.
 Homer, 21, 113.
 Hort, 190.
 Howson, xxviii.
 Hug, 70, 80, 123.
 Humboldt, 56.
 Huntington, 111.

 Ignatius, 109.
 Imposture, 55, 99.
 Irenæus, 18, 118, 175.

 James I, xix.
 Jebb, xxvii.
 Jerome, 119, 153, 154, 175.
 Justinian, 85.
 Justin Martyr, 175.

 Kahnis, 182.
 Koran, 1, 2, 110.

 Lachmann, 54, 103, 123, 166, 175, 180, 189.
 Laotse, 1.
 Larroque, 137.
 Lectionary, 41.
 Leipzig, 45, 56, 91, 97, 144, 146, 182, 183.
Leipziger Zeitung, 74, 78.
 Leo VI, Emperor, 133.
 Librarian, 27.
 Lightfoot, 162.
 Lucar, 58.
 Luther, xvi.
 Lykurgos, 56.
 Lyons, 117, 121, 122.

 Mai, 71, 75.
 Malpica, 148.

 Manuscripts, age of, 22, 49; classes, 39; divisions, 42; signs, 46; errors in, 32; form, 44; fragments, 48, 127; Greco-Latin, 119, 120, 126; illustrated, 133, 147; number of, 21, 22, 47, 48; valued, 30; various readings, 20, 21, 168, 170; where deposited, 45; where made, 29. See *Codex*.
 Marcion, 11.
 Mary, Bloody, xvii.
 Maximin, 85.
 Medici, 101.
 Michaelis, 20.
 Mico, 71.
 Mill, 21, 71, 102.
 Mohammed, 1, 3.
 Montfaucon, 70.
 Montfort, 137, 138.
 Moscow, 131.
 Muratori, 10, 11.

 Napoleon I, 80.
 Nero, 8.
 Nicholas of Hereford, xii.
 Nicholas V, 67.
 Niebuhr, 90.
 Nitria, 111.

 Origen, 28, 51, 127, 156, 172, 173.
 Orm, xi.
 Ormulum, xi.
 Oxford, xii, xiii, xiv, xix, 45, 46.

 Pachomius, 160, 161.
 Palimpsest, 33, 50, 101.
 Papias, 123.
 Papyrus, 16, 25, 37.
 Patmos, 46, 128.
 Philodemus, 69.
 Philoxenus, 158.
 Piaggi, 34.
 Pitra, 77.
 Plato, 22.
 Porfiri, 98, 132.
 Praxapostolos, 41.
 Printing, 35.
 Punctuation, 43.

 Reuchlin, 133.
 Revision, xiv, xx, xxv, 153; reasons for, xx-xxv; publication of, xxix.
 Committee, xiv, 154; lists of, xxix-xxxii; rules for, xxvi;
 Communion celebrated, xxvii; faith of, xxxiii.
 Rheims, xviii.
 Rolle of Hampole, xii.
 Rome, 53, 79; ascendancy in England, xvii.
 Rossano, 143.

 Schaff, xxviii, xxxiii.
 Schoeffer, 35.

- Scholz, 54, 137, 174.
 Schulze, 180.
 Scrivener, 32, 48, 50, 57, 60, 83, 120, 124, 127, 133, 137, 139, 154, 158, 169, 173, 175, 176, 180, 190.
 Severus of Antioch, 113.
 Shepherd of Hermas, 56, 94, 98.
 Simonides, 55, 56, 57, 59.
 Stanley, A. P., xxviii, 86.
 Stephens, xxiv, 53, 121.
 St. Catherine, Convent of, 85, 92, 97, 99.
 St. Maria Deipara, 31, 112.
 St. Maria de lo Patire, 144.
 St. Petersburg, 45, 96, 97, 132.
 Stichometry, 43, 126.
 Tachygrapher, 26.
 Tattam, 112.
 Tertius, 26.
 Tertullian, 42, 60, 152.
 Testament, Old, 8.
 New, when written, 7-9; material of MS., 37; copies discovered, 38; order of books, 44.
 Textus Receptus, 53, 192, 195.
 Thecla, 59, 62.
 Theophylact, 173.
 Tischendorf, 9, 54, 56, 68, 74, 75, 77, 80, 88 sq., 103, 104, 113, 123, 125, 126, 145, 166, 169, 173, 176, 182 sq., 189, 190.
 Titloi, 42, 61.
 Titus of Bostra, 173.
 Traditores, 17.
 Tregelles, 54, 61, 69, 73, 74, 80, 113, 123, 134, 139, 140, 157, 166, 169, 173, 187 sq., 190, 192.
 Trent, 121, 122.
 Tyndale, xiv, xvi, xxiii, xxiv.
 Uncial, 39, 40, 47.
 Usher, 110.
 Vatican Library, 22, 67, 68, 71, 77, 83, 111.
 Vedas, 1, 2.
 Vellum, 25, 32.
 Venice, 68.
 Vercelli, 153.
 Vercellone, 73, 77.
 Versions, 18, 38, 150 sq.
 Bashmuri, 162.
 Curetonian Syriac, 31, 156, 157, 172.
 Jerusalem Syriac, 158, 159.
 Memphitic, 160, 162.
 Old Latin, 152, 153, 154.
 Peshito, 12, 155, 157.
 Philoxenian, 127, 158.
 Thebaic, 160, 162.
 Vulgate, xii, xvi, xviii, 18, 121, 153, 154.
 Westcott, 190.
 Westminster, xxvii.
 Wetstein, 102, 120.
 William a Prato, 121.
 William of Shoreham, xi.
 Wiseman, 73, 152.
 Woide, 66.
 Woolsey, xxxiii.
 Wyclif, xii.
 Ximenes, 53.
 Young, 65.
 Zend Avesta, 1.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

SWITZERLAND. By Harriet S. D. McKenzie. Lothrop's Library of Entertaining History. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co. Price \$1.50. Few parts of Europe are better known to the traveller and tourist than Switzerland, that little Federative Republic which has held its own so long among the great monarchical powers of the Continent. Every season it is overrun by visitors, a large number of whom are Americans, and the letters which are written home and find place in hundreds of American newspapers, descriptive of its scenery, climate and people have made all these familiar to those who have been obliged to remain all their lives on this side the water. But Switzerland has something more to recommend it to those who read than its mere physical features, its waterfalls and lakes, its mountains and glaciers. There is as great a charm in its political independence, and in the history of the causes which led to it. As has been remarked, Switzerland may be considered an epitome of civilized Europe; all the parties, the theories, the expectations and the pretensions which agitate larger States, may be seen here, making it a country as remarkable among the States of the Old World for its moral as well as its physical peculiarities. The author, in this volume, contributes a work which is judiciously arranged and charmingly written, and one worthy to rank with its companions in the series for which it is specially prepared.

THE KEEPSAKE SCRIPTURE TEXT BOOK. With Preface by the Rev. J. C. Ryle. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co. Price 75 cents. The idea of the compiler of this beautiful little pocket volume is not a new one, but it is freshly and effectively carried out. A text from Scripture, and a line or stanza from some poem or hymn, one of each for every day in the year, form the printed contents. These occupy places upon every left hand page, while on the opposite pages are blanks for the daily record of thoughts or experiences. The form is small enough to be slipped into the pocket, and that fact, in connection with the plan it embodies, ought to make it a companion for a large class of readers.

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Boston: D. Lothrop & Co. Price \$1.50. In this beautiful quarto volume will be found many old newspaper favorites which have here been brought together for the first time under the proper name of the author. Those who have read and sung them, and who have no other copies save those in their scrap-books, will be delighted to have them, with others equally good, presented in so tasteful a form. A recent newspaper critic has pronounced the volume equal in point of merit to any collection of poems published this season, and one feels inclined to echo that praise, strong as it may seem, in looking over its contents. Many of the pieces are of a devotional cast, some are about children, and others are poems of nature. They are all marked by tenderness of feeling and grace of expression.

WARLOCK O' GLENWARLOCK. By George MacDonald.
Illustrated. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co. Price \$1.75. George MacDonald has a world-wide literary reputation, and there are many who claim for him the highest place among living English writers of fiction. His books are pure, clear and strong, the products of a well-trained intellect and a healthy mind. The present story, which is printed from the author's manuscript, was originally published in monthly parts, as supplements to *Wide Awake*, and is now issued in uniform style with *The Seaboard Parish* and *Annals of a Quiet Neighborhood*. As the name indicates, the scene and characters are Scotch; indeed, the author would hardly be in his element were they not. His delineations of Scotch character are admirable, and some of the strongest of his work in this respect will be found in the volume before us.

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SIX MONTHS AT MRS. PRIOR'S. By Emily Adams. Illustrated. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co. 1.25.

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GOOD BOOKS.

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YOUNG FOLKS' HISTORY OF GREECE. By Charlotte M. Yonge. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co. \$1.50.

The popularity of Miss Yonge's series of short histories now in course of publication by Lothrop & Co., is evidenced by its large sale, and by the wide-spread interest taken in it by students and educators. The author has the faculty of weeding out redundances without affecting the value of the text, and of condensing facts and presenting the salient points of history in a telling and agreeable manner. In the volume before us she has attempted to put the fables as well as the real history of the Greeks into such shape as will render them intelligible to young readers. Of all the countries of the world there is none whose history is so remarkable and romantic as that of the Greeks, excepting, perhaps, that of the Jews. Although a mere corner of the then civilized world, Greece produced more eminent men than all other countries put together. Most of the arts and sciences had their beginning within her borders. Her historians, poets and artists produced works three thousand years ago which the most imaginative brain and skillful hands of the present day have failed to equal. Miss Yonge's book is remarkably interesting, and not only interesting but valuable.

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POOR PAPA. By Mary W. Porter. Illustrated. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co. Paper covers, 50 cents. Of all the lately published books in which children bear a principal part, one of the most natural and charming is *Poor Papa*. It breathes the very spirit of childhood, and one is inclined to believe that the author must have drawn her characters from living models. Few writers have the faculty of describing children as they are, and many of the so-called "juvenile" books published are dreary failures simply because their writers have no sympathy with their subjects. The children whom Miss Porter describes are genuine children and not make-believe. They have all the indescribable ways and peculiarities that make little people oftentimes riddles to their elders. Their journey abroad with "Poor Papa," who comes all the way over the ocean for them, their adventures, their quaint observations on what they see and hear, their thorough enjoyment of everything, the comical surprises they are continually giving those around them, are delightfully set forth, and will be as fascinating reading for the older as for the younger ones.

"Poor Papa" is sure to be a favorite. It is a graphic story of the perplexities of a father, left a widower, to care for two children. The father is an artist, absorbed in painting, and having no knowledge of child-nature; while his two children, loving and true, are like young colts, with irrepressible life and spirits, and perpetually in trouble. They have many amusing adventures in Italy, from their rollicking love of freedom and fun, and barely escape with life from a governess, whose martinet habits transform her into an ogre, delighting in torture. But the troubles of papa and children find a happy solution in the advent of a new mamma, the sister of a brother artist, whose fine womanly instincts have helped the children already over many a hard place. Summer travellers will have many a hearty laugh over the volume, and enjoy equally the humor of the children and the perplexities of "Papa."

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ENTERTAINMENTS; Comprising Directions for Holiday Merrymakings, New Programmes for Amateur Performances, and Many Novel Sunday-school Exercises. Collected and Edited by Lizzie W. Champney. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co. Price \$1.00. Mrs. Champney is known as a popular magazine writer, a poet of no mean ability. The volume before us is a specimen of her skill in another direction — that of selection and compilation; a work requiring rare judgment and almost as much ability as would be necessary to produce an original work. The table of contents includes exercises for Temperance gatherings, Fourth of July, Missionary concerts, Decoration day, Thanksgiving and Christmas. Principally, however, they are intended for use at Sunday-school exhibitions and concerts. The element of entertainment, says the author, must enter even into religion, if it is to be dear to the popular heart. Entertainments, at any rate, the multitude will have; it only remains for Christians to decide whether they shall make this mighty power a Christian force, or leave all the merry and bright things of this life to the service of Satan. Sunday-school literature is very defective in dialogues and recitations of an attractive character, and the preparation of a programme for such occasions is a matter of supreme difficulty. To make it easier, and to provide a source from which material may be drawn for almost any occasion, the present work has been prepared. Most of the matter is new, and is contributed by persons of experience in musical matters and entertainments of all kinds.

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